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College and School News

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE reports a record enrollment of more than eight hundred students. This figure exceeds the total enrollment for both semesters of the school year 1944-45 and breaks all previous records. A surprisingly large number of men students are enrolled, many of whom are veterans. A special feature of the college program this year is the veteran and civilian vocational courses based on Army and Navy training methods.

William C. Jason, Jr., is new director of public relations at the BEREAN SCHOOL. Mr. Jason is already planning a Founder's Day celebration for January 25, 1946.

New faculty members at DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE are Dr. Harold C. Wearer, Pennsylvania State; Dr. Theodore Boyd, Radcliffe; and Dr. Mary Huff Diggs, Bryn Mawr. New teachers in the vocational educational division are Hardy O. Pierce, specialist in wood work, sheetmetal, and cabinet making; and Hilliard Harris, specialist in automobile mechanics and machine-shop practice.

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE opened its new school year in September with a record enrollment. New faculty members are Rev. E. A. Paul, Garrett Biblical Institute, teacher of Bible and college church pastor; Wm. Cousins, Yale, social sciences; Irvin Swack, Juilliard, violin and musical theory; Scott L. Eberhardt, organ and piano; Irving A. McCollum, natural sciences; Mrs. Jennie Pollard, Northwestern, English; Mrs. Beulah J. Tipton, Tennessee State, teacher-training department; Miss Frances E. Clark, Howard, English; and Miss Alethea Morton, French and Spanish.

The seventy-eighth annual session of ST. AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE opened on September 20, with services in the college chapel, conducted by Rev. Edgar H. Goold, president of the college. Principal address was delivered by the Right Reverend Edwin A. Penick, Protestant Episcopal bishop of North Carolina and chairman of the board of trustees of the college. Brief talks were also given by Rev. Robert J. Johnson, of Wilson, N. C.; Rev. James K. Satterwhite, of Jacksonville, Fla.; and the Revs. J. McDowell and Charles F. Wulf, both of Raleigh, N. C.

New members of the college staff are James E. Livas, Jr., B. A., Morehouse, M. A., Columbia, social science; Mrs. Lillian S. Dickerson, B. A., Virginia State, M. A., Columbia, health and physical education; William M. Perry, B. S., St. Augustine's, M. S., University of Michigan, dean of men and teacher of mathematics; and Grace Lane, B. A., Shaw, assistant to the librarian.

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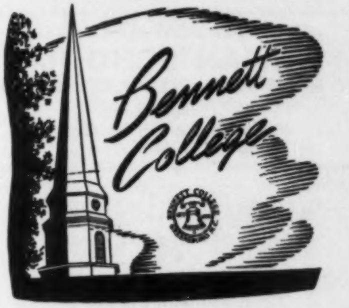

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Many white colleges are now offering courses on the Negro. A recent addition to this list is St. John's University, Boerum Place and Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y., which is giving a course on "The Negro in American Life."

On page 246 of the September, 1945, issue of *The Crisis* it was announced that Elwood B. Boone, assistant professor of psychology at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE, had received his Ph. D. from Ohio State. It should have been the University of Michigan.

SHAW UNIVERSITY announces fourteen additions and four replacements on its staff for the new school year. This increases the staff to fifty-six and this expansion is intended to offer adequate instruction for a capacity enrollment.

Returning as professor of mathematics and chairman of the division of natural sciences after a three years' leave is Charles R. Eason. Rev. Moses N. DeLancy, former director of religious extension at Arkansas A. M. & N. College, will serve as director of the new rural church department.

Other staff additions are Mrs. Jeanetta S. Kilgore, director of the nursery school; Miss Doris L. Neal, assistant librarian; Mrs. L. B. Green, assistant dietitian; Mrs. Ethea L. Williams, assistant nurse and dormitory director; James H. Stevenson, assistant athletic director and instructor in physical education; Mrs. Rosa L. Bryant Hill, instructor in romance languages and English; Joel W. Wallace, instructor in English and associate in publicity; Miss Marion L. Gregory, instructor in biology; Elbert E. Jones, instructor in physical sciences; Mrs. Ruth S. Weaver, instructor in education; John C. Anderson, instructor in social sciences; James A. Broady, Jr., instructor in art; Mrs. Alma Trotter, assistant in the nursery school; and office assistants Mrs. Harriet McCrimmon Kee, Misses Doris Blount and Mary E. Grandy.

President Robert P. Daniel has announced plans for the erection of a new modern gymnasium at the college as a step toward more adequate equipment of the institution for an expanded program in health and physical education.

Beginning this fall the college is offering a major in physical education to prepare students for physical and health education instruction in the high schools.

FISK UNIVERSITY announces the appointment of Bjarne E. Landa to its faculty as assistant professor of German. A native of Norway, where he graduated from the State College, Mr. Landa came to this country in 1926 and enrolled in the University of South-

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ern California where he received both the B. A. and M. A. degrees. During 1936-37 Mr. Landa was engaged in journalism and taught private classes in German, Latin, and the Scandinavian languages in Los Angeles. In 1938 he was granted a teaching fellowship at the University of Minnesota where he taught German and Norwegian and studied for a Ph. D. degree.

Leaving the University of Minnesota in 1942, Mr. Landa acted as translator for the Office of Censorship in Miami, Florida. Since 1943 Mr. Landa has been identified with the Office of Censorship in San Juan, Peurto Rico.

Miss Eva Deane Kemp, director of the International Student Center at Fisk, has returned to the college after visiting Washington and New York, where she conferred with prominent individuals interested in the exchange of foreign students, with enthusiasm for the development of an international student program at Fisk.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE began its seventy-seventh academic year on September 20 with an enrollment of over one thousand students, at least forty of whom are veterans.

President Ralph P. Bridgman announces the establishment of a special veterans' bureau at the college. George C. Cooper, former ensign and personnel officer in the U. S. Naval Training School at Hampton, will serve as director of the new bureau. Aim of the bureau is to execute federal and state policies regarding the rights and privileges of returning veterans under the terms of the GI Bill and Public Law 16.

Benson L. Dutton, plant engineer at the college, has been re-elected southern regional vice-president of the National Technical Association. The NTA is composed of outstanding Negro architects, engineers, chemists, and physicists. Included in the region headed by Mr. Dutton are Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

Leo Pierre, a student in the division of trades and industries at the college, became the first Haitian citizen to receive a patent from the U. S. Patent Office recently when he secured a patent for a combination tool which can be used to assemble and dismount machine guns and other mechanical equipment.

Patents are also pending for two other inventions by Pierre, one of them being a pocket machine gun and the other an automatic magazine for machine guns. He completed his three inventions while studying machine shop practice at Hampton, where he is also studying automobile mechanics.

New additions to the Hampton staff are Dr. Frederick D. Inge, who formerly taught biology at Southern University, Florida A. & M. College and Bennett, head of the department of biology; James A. Cotton, previously on the staff of Virginia State, head of the tailoring department; Dr. Nancy Bullock Woolridge, formerly on the staff of

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Louisville Municipal College, associate professor of English; Miss Beulah A. Williams, until recently on the staff of Bennett, substitute instructor of drama and speech; Miss Edna Gleason, formerly on the staff of Lincoln school at Teachers College, assistant professor of clothing; and William H. Robinson, formerly with the OPA, substitute instructor in education.

Arthur E. Burke, associate professor of English, returns to the college this fall after a year of graduate study at the University of Wisconsin to be acting chairman of the Communications Center. Dr. Herbert F. Mells, recently appointed professor of music and director of the college choir, will be acting chairman of the music department in the absence of Miss Irene Sanders, who is on sabbatical leave pursuing graduate studies at Columbia university.

Six hundred eighty-five students are enrolled at Virginia Union University this year, representing twenty-five states, the British West Indies, and the Panama Canal Zone.

New faculty members are Clinton F. Oliver, Harvard, head of the department of languages and literature; Lucius Robinson, University of Wisconsin, German; Norville Smith, University of Pennsylvania, counsellor to men; W. O. Bradley, Howard, biology; Samuel Taylor, Northwestern, head football coach; Rev. Edward McCreary, Andover-Newton, School of Religion; Dr. Joseph T. Hill, Union Theological Seminary, school of religion; Mrs. Jeannette W. Boyer, University of Pennsylvania, dean of women; Miss Thelma Ellis, University of Pennsylvania, personnel department; and Miss Maree Morse, Drew university, religious education.

Robert Brown Johnson returns to active duty after two years of advance study at the University of Minnesota. On leave are Thomas H. Henderson, dean; Mrs. Ruby Madden Townsend, and Thomas Freeman, all studying at the University of Chicago; and Lawrence D. Smith, studying at the University of Pennsylvania.

The opening of the first semester of the school year at Lincoln University (Mo.) brought with it several additions to the faculty and personnel. Among the new faculty members are Mrs. Florence B. Brown, University of Illinois, assistant professor of so-

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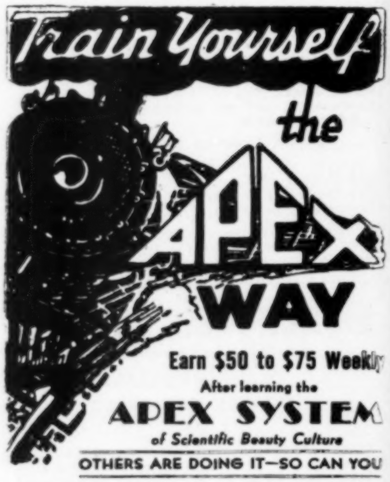

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ciology; Donald A. Edwards, University of Chicago, assistant professor of physics; Isiah Israel, University of Michigan, instructor in physical education; Miss Ella W. Montgomery, Colorado State College, assistant professor in home economics; Miss Evanel Renfrew, University of Iowa, assistant professor of foods and nutrition; Miss Ruth Muse, assistant instructor in mathematics; Miss Mildred M. Turrentine, assistant instructor in music; and Miss Consuelo C. Young, assistant professor of journalism.

Leaves of absence from the university have been granted or extended to N. P. Barksdale, for research and travel; Mrs. Ina A. Bolton, for study at the University of California; Miss Regina Goff, for study at Columbia; H. Hadley Hartshorn, for study at the University of Minnesota; Joseph T. Johnson, for study at the University of Michigan; Raymond H. Kemp, for study at Columbia; and Cyrus B. Taylor, for study at the University of Minnesota.

Morristown College began its sixty-fourth academic year with increased enrollment. New faculty members are Dr. B. E. Moore, dean of the college; Dr. R. D. Minard, education; S. A. Cain, high school principal; Miss Adeline Comer, music; Miss Alberta Snowden, mathematics; Miss Mamie E. Johnson, dean ow women; and Bruce Mackey, physical education and coach.

The Atlanta School of Social Work reports one hundred nineteen full-time students, which is the largest enrollment in its twenty-five years of training young men and women for the profesison of social work.

New appointments to the faculty of Spelman College have been made in the departments of biology, Spanish, mathematics, fine arts, English, and home economics. In biology, Dr. Barnett Smith and Miss Alice A. Stieglitz; in Spanish, Miss Virginia F. Curry; in mathematics, Mrs. Georgia C. Smith; in sculpture and ceramics, Miss Alice W. Dunbar; in home economics, Miss Georgia Poinsette; and in English, Henry Thomas.

Hale Woodruff returns to the college after a two-year leave as a fellow of the Rosenwald Foundation.

Miss Virginia Lacy Jones, acting director of the Atlanta University School of Library Service, received the Ph. D. degree in library science from the Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago on September 14.

New principal of the University Laboratory School is Mrs. Theresa B. Woodruff. Mrs. Woodruff is a graduate of Washburn College in Topeka, Kansas, and a former graduate student at the University of Chicago and Columbia and Ohio State universities. Since 1938 she has been on the faculty of the Atlanta University Laboratory School.

The new staff position of director of dormitories at Morehouse College will be filled by Rev. Alfonso L. Lowry, an honor graduate of Morehouse in 1939. Mr. Lowry will also be on the faculty of the School of Religion, the new director of which is Rev. George D. Kelsey, since 1938, a member of the faculty of Morehouse.

Other appointments to the college faculty have gone to the following: Dr. Henry McBay, chemistry; Miss Wynona Moore, French; Miss Vera L. Sugg and Miss Geraldine L. Calrk, English; and Miss Wilma M. Bristow, dietetics.

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A Record of the Darker Races

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NEXT MONTH

In addition to the usual Crisis features, we plan to carry an article by Alfred Baker Lewis on federal aid to education and another feature on the Virgin Islands by J. Antonio Jarvis.

•

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Gloster B. Current is executive secretary of the Detroit, Michigan, branch of the NAACP, one of the largest NAACP branches in the country. Thelma Thurston Gorham lives in San Francisco, California. She played an important role in making the *Apache Sentinel* at Fort Huachuca one of the best GI papers in the country. Her work on the *Sentinel* was featured in a *Christian Science Monitor* article of July 2, 1945. Ann Petry is the well-known short story writer. She lives in New York City and is now at work on a novel. Kenneth Porter teaches at Vassar College. William Worthy, Jr., lives in Newark, N. J.

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Editorials

No Jim Crow Army-Navy

AT this writing it begins to look as though a real beginning will be made by both the Army and the Navy toward abolishing the policy of segregating Negroes, the only group set apart in the armed services of the nation.

From the Pacific has come a report that Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, a native Texan and former Chief of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, told Lester Granger and accompanying reporters that he favored integrating the Negroes in the Navy. Admiral Nimitz pointed out, however, that the policy would have to be adopted by the Navy department in Washington.

Needless to say, Nimitz would not have made this public statement for the press unless he had been fairly certain that there is enough agreement on the non-segregation policy to put it into effect. There is considerable evidence that the Navy, moving cautiously, has already begun breaking down the segregation pattern. It is expected that the report of Mr. Granger, now on tour as a personal representative of Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal, will become the basis for formal announcement of the new policy.

In the Army, no top-ranking officer has made a statement similar to that of Nimitz, but something is stirring and indications are that an announcement modifying or completely abolishing segregation in that service will be made in the near future. It has been revealed that the Army made a survey of white officers and enlisted men who fought in Germany with Negro rifle platoons assigned to certain white regiments, and that the replies are favorable to integration. In fact, the replies were so favorable that the report was suppressed last May upon the recommendation of Lt. Gen. Brehon B. Somervell, and is just now made public.

These statements and reports are cheering news to that section of the population which has fought unceasingly and uncompromisingly for an unsegregated fighting force. The battle is not yet won, but victory appears to be in sight.

Mead Warns Democrats

SENATOR James M. Mead (D., N.Y.) warned the Senate Democrats in caucus October 11 that continued opposition on the part of southern members to legislation urged upon the Congress by organized labor, and continued acts and words from them which insult and antagonize racial and religious groups can result only in the loss of key areas and states, and the election of Republicans in 1948.

Loss of the White House and the Congress by the Democrats would not mean loss of seats by the Dixie Democrats—that is, as long as we have the poll tax and other devices for restricting the franchise. But it would mean the loss of powerful committee chairmanships by the southerners and consequent lessening of their influence on the flow of legislation.

Commenting on Senator Mead's warning, Arthur Krock of The New York *Times* says:

"The Southern wing of the party, he implied, must swallow its objections to current socio-economic proposals as it did so often while the New Deal was dominating the Democratic party and the leadership of President Roosevelt was only slightly resisted. . . . Otherwise, his hearers gathered, he sees a steadily worsening Democratic future in the large Northern states, the signs of which are already appearing. . . . After Mr. Mead had finished his warning, there was nothing to indicate that he had won any converts to his point of view in so far as this correspondent could discover."

The task of the Democratic party, as has been stated here before, is to retain the Roosevelt Democrats, the people who trusted FDR even while strongly distrusting practically the entire Dixie wing. In this group are the Negro voters, some other racial and religious groups, some large labor blocs, and a host of independent voters. The gloomy prediction of Senator Mead may easily come true unless the poll tax legislators see the light.

Judge Mollison

FOR the first time in history a Negro has been named to a Federal judgeship in continental United States. President Truman has nominated Irvin C. Mollison, prominent and able Chicago attorney to be a judge of the United States Customs Court. Prior to this appointment, William H. Hastie had been named by President Roosevelt as Federal judge in the Virgin Islands.

Mr. Truman is to be congratulated upon this appointment, first because Mr. Mollison is a capable and brilliant member of the legal profession who brings to the post all the qualifications needed; and second because the post is not a "Negro" one in the sense that it deals primarily with Negroes, or in matters with which large numbers of them are concerned. Negroes generally have been disappointed in the appointments of Mr. Truman thus far, but the naming of Mr. Mollison will take some of the edge from their feelings. In this instance, as in so many others, the Democrats, despite their Dixie bloc, have shown themselves to be smart enough to overthrow precedent on racial matters for the sake of politics. The Republicans have shown little or no flexibility in this respect.

The Klan Again

FROM Georgia comes the not-surprising news that the Ku Klux Klan has been revived and has about 20,000 dues-paying members in that state alone. One of its purposes, as might be expected, is, in the words of Grand Dragon Samuel Green, "protection of home and the chastity of white womanhood." It also announces the continuation of its fight against Communism, and although Jews and Catholics are not mentioned, it declares for "the mixing of those who have the same ideas," which might be their way of stating opposition to Jews and Catholics. The joining fee is $10 and annual dues are $6, with an additional $2 for an insurance fund. Negroes who claim to have difficulty in finding $1 or $2.50 per year to join the NAACP might take note.

"Why Not?"

WE do not believe that anyone really expected the Daughters of the American Revolution to change the policy of refusing the use of their Constitution Hall in Washington to Negro artists. The DAR does not move very fast. It lives in the past, and the terrific slap it received several years ago when it denied its hall to Marian Anderson has not had time to register, even with the impetus of the war.

But no one expected the First Lady of the land, Mrs. Harry Truman, to reply, "Why not?" when she was asked by a reporter whether she would attend future affairs of the DAR. Mrs. Truman had plausibly explained that she attended a DAR tea because the invitation had been accepted before the Hazel Scott incident arose. So far so good. Not the best, but good.

Then the Missouri lady uttered what may become one of the classic unfortunate remarks in politics. Would she attend future DAR affairs now that she knew their policy, now that her distinguished husband had compared the DAR ban to Nazi policies?

"Why not?" she said.

Georgia Primaries Open

THE ruling of Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis of Macon, Ga., that Negroes must be permitted to vote in the Democratic primaries of that state is one more victory in the long battle to secure the ballot for the millions of disfranchised Negro citizens in the South. The poll tax disfranchises Negroes and whites, but if it were outlawed (as it should be) there would still remain the barrier to Negroes of the so-called "white" primary. The sweeping decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Texas case on April 3, 1944, that primaries were a part of the election and could not be closed to Negroes was met in several states, including Georgia, with stubborn resistance. Now that a U. S. district judge, himself a Georgia Democrat, has rendered an opinion, it is reasonbale to suppose that qualified Negro Democrats will cast their ballots in increasing numbers.

Negroes and Japanese Evacuees

By Thelma Thurston Gorham

What are the possibilities for racial tension between Negroes and the returning Japanese evacuees on the West Coast? How much Japanese-American property is now occupied by Negroes? What have been the relations of Negroes and Japanese-Americans? The reader will find answers to these questions in this discerning article

"DON'T curse the dark, light a candle," is an age-old Oriental adage which Japanese-Americans apply to the problems of their every day living.

Recently when the members of a professionally prominent East Bay Japanese family were released from the Topaz, Utah, relocation center, they were asked in apparent concern and irreproachable sincerity: "Did you know that the Negroes in the Bay Area resent your return to your homes on the Coast?"

Members of the Nisei family replied that they did not. They thought it odd and expressed surprise among themselves that the return of Japanese-Americans should arouse resentment among Negro Americans. The "warning" question aroused no matching resentment in them, but it strengthened their determination to tread carefully and offend no one.

In San Francisco's Fillmore district, where the Negro population has quadrupled itself since World War II began, it has been hinted repeatedly since the Issei, Nisei and Sansei—first, second and third generation Japanese—began returning that there "might be trouble." The returnees from relocation centers serving the Northern California area —Topaz, Utah and Hart Mountain, Wyoming —might create tensions and produce racial diffculties in the area.

In the East Bay area, Oakland and Berkeley, predictions ran rife about hardships that the in-migrant Negro population would suffer when returning Japanese Americans reclaimed their homes and other properties. Of San Francisco's Fillmore district, San Mateo and other communities in the West Bay and Peninsula region, similar predictions were made.

Nevertheless, as the War Relocation Authority makes plans to close most of its centers in this area by mid-November or not later than Christmas, a number of heartening signs have been noted in the Northern California area. Not the least of these is the indication that there won't be any difficulty between returning Japanese-Americans and Negro Americans if that difficulty must be of their own making—if seeds of friction are left to be sown by members of those groups. An exhaustive survey of neighborhoods formerly occupied by Americans of Japanese ancestry reveals that the Nisei are anxious above everything else to avoid any friction. Most Negroes are frankly surprised, and somewhat puzzled, at the idea that they are supposed to be resentful about the return of the Japanese.

Richard R. Gorham, Jr.

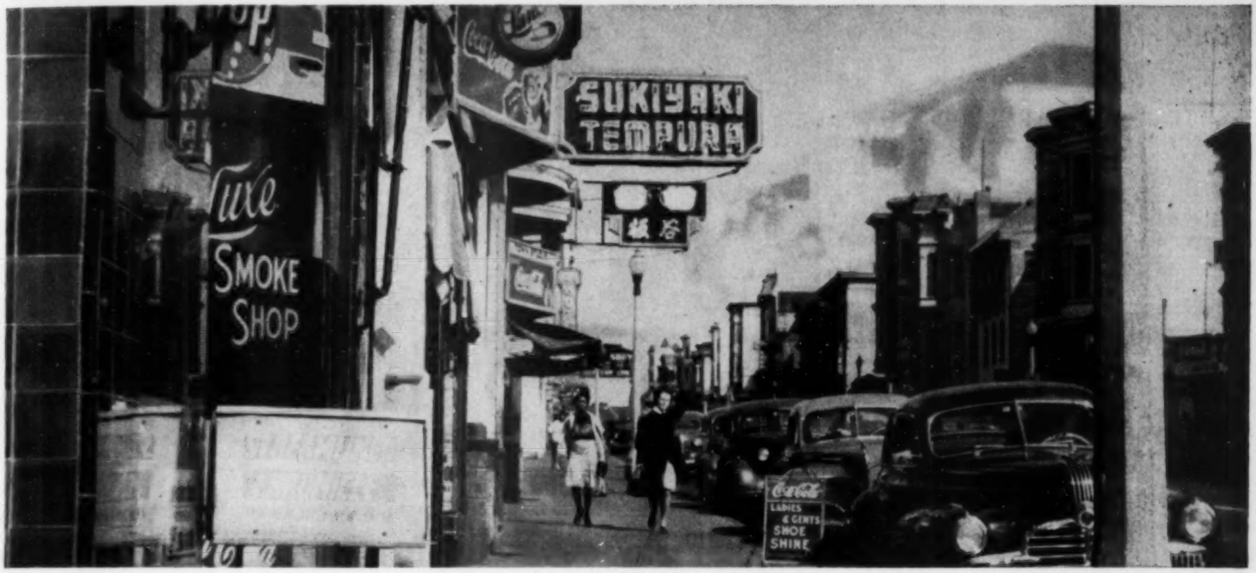
A Nisei family is moving back into the ground floor apartment of this building. This building, one of several in which Negroes and Nisei are now living side by side, is located on Buchanan street between Post and Geary.

Number of Nisei Returned

To date of the 1,300 individual Japanese-Americans who have returned to the San Francisco area, about 600 are in family groups. By Christmas several thousand Japanese will have returned to Northern California. The alarmists have been predicting wholesale evictions of Negro families from former Japanese-occupied properties. So far evictions have been very slow. Moreover, contrary to popular rumors, Issei and Nisei do not own a large amount of the property credited to them. In most of the Northern California areas where they established themselves, most of the Japanese were renting their properties, both commercial and residential. Some of the Issei, first generation Japanese, had paid rents from twenty-five to thirty years. The reason for this is two-fold. First, many of the Issei, in fact the majority of them, came to America with the idea of gaining wealth with which to return to the homeland and live out their declining years in luxury. Secondly, California law prohibits ownership of property by first-generation Japanese. Most first-generation Japanese who put off returning to Japan and became rooted here did so because their children were Americans and preferred to remain that way.

An estimate of the number of pieces of property owned by Nisei in San Francisco, including business and residential tracts, is hard to arrive at. This is due to the fact that a number of pieces of former Japanese-American-owned property have been sold since the Japanese were evacuated in 1941, and a number of pieces of property have been listed in the names of title and holding companies. Estimates vary from 83 up to 122 pieces of commercial and residential property owned in the Fillmore district. Of this figure approximately 78 pieces may be classified as business property. This does not leave a great many pieces of residential property.

Prior to the present wartime growth of San Francisco's Afro-American population, Negro residency followed no rigidly segregated pattern. The small number of Negro residents were "swallowed up" in the city's polyglot population. The majority of the Negro population lived in the blocks between Fillmore and Presidio, California and Turk, an area bordering on the Japanese settlement. Smaller numbers were located in other sections of the city; but even the area of Negro concentration, the Fillmore district, did not constitute a "Black Belt," inasmuch as sizeable groups of white, Filipinos, Chinese and Japanese resided in the same area. When the Japanese were relocated in 1941, the newly available space for housing and living was taken over for and by the expanding Negro population. The Negro area of residence was extended about six blocks in the direction of San Francisco's downtown business district. With the influx of thousands of new Negro residents into the area, a larger section of the city became a definite residential district with a decidedly dark complexion.



Richard R. Gorham, Jr.

Many signs denoting Nisei occupancy or Japanese business have been replaced by signs of numerous small Negro businesses that flourish in the Fillmore district. However, many Japanese signs, too heavy to move or take down easily, have been left up and signs of the new occupants have been placed above, below and around the old displays, which once symbolized this section on Post street between Webster and Buchanan known as San Francisco's "Little Tokyo."

However, in view of the numerical unimportance of Japanese-owned residential property all of the predictions about impending tensions appear ludicrous. At the same time, one can't help realizing that the situation has another aspect which counter-balances ridiculousness with gravity. It is apparent that, small though they may be in number, the Japanese-owned properties can be used as a splitting wedge by the "divide and rule crowd" to put the two minorities against each other. Moreover, in the congested area into which the in-migrant Negro war workers in San Francisco have been forced by restrictive covenants and a deplorable lack of decent available housing, everything is used for residences. To meet the shortage, business buildings, store fronts, shops, all go when an enterprising realtor can obtain them, sub-let them to an even more enterprising individual who has them partitioned into cubbyhole "living quarters" which are rented at extortionate prices to desperate war-workers and their families. When one realizes that a two-story, four-flat building can, and does, house up to twenty-five families, then one begins to see the extent to which the anti-Japanese racial propaganda can make that splitting wedge an incendiary and vicious weapon at the disposal of American-style fascists and others who might profit by keeping the two groups at swords' points.

Amount of Property Owned

Although Japanese Americans controlled fully one-fourth of San Francisco's flourishing cleaning and dyeing industry before the war and played a fairly important role in many of the city's other commercial enterprises, this is what the Japanese own today in the way of business establishments: three amusement places, six apartment buildings or rooming houses, three appparel shops, two art shops, two beauty and barber shops, eight churches, five craftsmen shops, one drug store, two express, taxi or auto hire establishments, one food products manufacturing concern, three retail food stores, six general agencies, three hotels, one import-export firm, five laundries and dry-cleaning establishments, three newspaper printing shops, five organizational or club buildings, five professional office buildings, four restaurants, two service stations with garages and two miscellaneous commercial establishments.

It is because there are potentially fascist interests at work on the scene that one looks hard for signs which point in other directions—signs which do not indicate racial tensions and community tensions. One finds them in the sympathetic attitude of Negro tenants toward their returning Japanese landlords and neighbors, in the "hostels" which Negro groups in San Francisco and Oakland have helped to establish for returning Nisei, in the considerate and patient notices which Japanese give tenants who must vacate their premises.

So-called racial attitudes are conditioned by things which affect individuals, directly or indirectly. Among the in-migrant Negroes of Northern California attitudes vary according to the degree in which the return of the Nisei affect war-workers living in the congested areas that were formerly the neat, quiet and altogether unglamorous Japanese settlement.

When the Japanese were evacuated from the Coast, there were Negroes who thought it "a dirty shame." There were those who felt that if that sort of thing could be done to one minority it might be done to another. Rarely did Negroes feel that the Japanese should have been kept in the relocation centers.

Racial Attitudes

While flagrant Negro resentfulness toward the returning evacuees is not easily discernible, there are conversely, numerous reports of Japanese who are very unhappy about the treatment that their properties received at the hands of Negro tenants. There have been reports of resentfulness on the part of Japanese toward Negroes who rented homes in which Issei and Nisei property was stored and who abused, pilfered or destroyed that property. Whites committed the same sort of offenses—and worse ones, motivated by greed. One Japanese with whom I talked told of a white family which broke into the locked-up section of the Nisei home, pilfered many possessions, sold a typewriter, vacuum sweeper and an adding machine, in addition to "borrowing" the Nisei landlord's automobile for a trip to Los Angeles. Another Japanese told of a Negro family whose care of his property would have warranted no censure—if the tenants hadn't pawned a valuable painting and forgot to get it out of hock before the Nisei returned.

The tendency on the part of Negro Americans toward resentment of the Japanese is something that occurs only in rare instances, such as those in which tenants hard-pressed for housing are pressured by landlords, similarly hard-pressed. The so-called smouldering resentment is not a prevalent condition; it appears to be more a figment of someone's unhealthy imagination. It is significant that wherever any resentment has been discovered there is also found housing difficulty, growing out of discrimination in housing toward Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, Negroes and Filipinos.

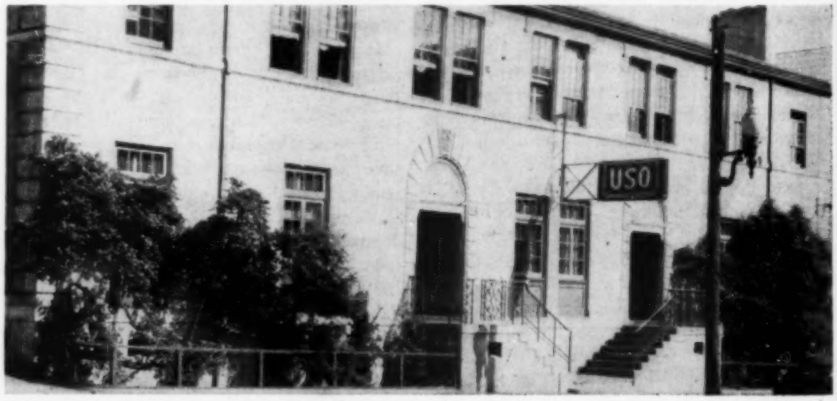
It is significant that at a Town Hall meeting held in the Booker T. Washington Community Center in San Francisco, there was no argument given by the negative side when the Center's Carver Club debated the question, "Should Japanese Be Returned To The West Coast." A Negro minister whose congregation is predominantly colored, was the first San Francisco cleric to welcome the returned Japanese and invite them to membership in his church. Negro neighbors of a Nisei dentist and his wife in Oakland were among the first to welcome them back to their home. A Nisei couple reported that on a train enroute home from a relocation center the friendliest person they encountered was a Negro train porter. In San Mateo, Issei and Nisei reported to the WRA that Negro occupants had kept their home immaculate and had taken remarkable care of their possessions. Former Negro clients welcomed a Nisei dentist back to his office in San Francisco. One Japanese girl came back to San Francisco to live temporarily with Negroes who had been her family's neighbors. Others followed suit. Now many Negro families throughout the Peninsula area have taken Japanese into their homes.

Practically all of the efforts at arousing or creating tensions have had as their crux the critical Northern California housing situation. On the employment front, few attempts have been made, and fewer inroads gained, in pitting Negro Americans against Orientals. Obviously the national policy of relocating as many as possible in eastern cities has lessened the possibilities for tension in this connection. On the other hand, the types of employment into which the returned Japanese are being taken seldom conflict with those in which the Negro is seeking integration or infiltration. So far the majority of individual returnees have been single girls who go into secretarial or clerical work with the OWI, WRA and a few other governmental agencies. To get housing, many do part-time domestic work in exchange for rooms. Nisei males who come back are usually drafted at once. Almost simultaneously with their return their Selective Service numbers "come up" and they are put into uniform. Returning Nisei 4-F's have experienced job placement difficulties which make some of the rebuffs experienced by Negroes on the Coast seem mild by comparison.

The Employment Picture

The employment picture does have its brighter side, however. At the Stanford

(*Continued on page* 330)



Richard R. Gorham, Jr.

From top to bottom: Hub of the Fillmore district is this busy intersection at Geary and Fillmore streets. Here one sees a colorful mixture of black, brown, and yellow faces. Occasionally one sees a white face, too. This building formerly housed the larges Japanese-language school on the West Coast but is now occupied by the Booker T. Washington Community Center. Once a Japanese YMCA, this building (bottom) became the Buchanan Street USO for Negro GIs.

Like A Winding Sheet

By Ann Petry

Johnson could not hit a woman because a woman could not hit back the way a man did. But something had to happen to relieve that disquieting tension in his hands

HE had planned to get up before Mae did and surprise her by fixing breakfast. Instead he went back to sleep and she got out of bed so quietly he didn't know she wasn't there beside him until he woke up and heard the queer soft gurgle of water running out of the sink in the bathroom.

He knew he ought to get up but instead he put his arms across his forehead to shut the afternoon sunlight out of his eyes, pulled his legs up close to his body, testing them to see if the ache was still in them.

Mae had finished in the bathroom. He could tell because she never closed the door when she was in there and now the sweet smell of talcum powder was drifting down the hall and into the bedroom. Then he heard her coming down the hall.

"Hi, babe," she said affectionately.

"Hum," he grunted, and moved his arms away from his head, opened one eye.

"It's a nice morning."

"Yeah," he rolled over and the sheet twisted around him, outlining his thighs, his chest. "You mean afternoon, don't ya?"

Mae looked at the twisted sheet and giggled. "Looks like a winding sheet," she said. "A shroud—." Laughter tangled with her words and she had to pause for a moment before she could continue. "You look like a huckleberry—in a winding sheet—"

"That's no way to talk. Early in the day like this," he protested.

He looked at his arms silhouetted against the white of the sheets. They were inky black by contrast and he had to smile in spite of himself and he lay there smiling and savouring the sweet sound of Mae's giggling.

"Early?" She pointed a finger at the alarm clock on the table near the bed, and giggled again. "It's almost four o'clock. And if you don't spring up out of there you're going to be late again."

"What do you mean 'again'?"

"Twice last week. Three times the week before. And once the week before and—"

"I can't get used to sleeping in the day time," he said fretfully. He pushed his legs out from under the covers experimentally. Some of the ache had gone out of them but they weren't really rested yet. "It's too light for good sleeping. And all that standing beats the hell out of my legs."

"After two years you oughtta be used to it," Mae said.

He watched her as she fixed her hair, powdered her face, slipping into a pair of blue denim overalls. She moved quickly and yet she didn't seem to hurry.

"You look like you'd had plenty of sleep," he said lazily. He had to get up but he kept putting the moment off, not wanting to move, yet he didn't dare let his legs go completely limp because if he did he'd go back to sleep. It was getting later and later but the thought of putting his weight on his legs kept him lying there.

When he finally got up he had to hurry and he gulped his breakfast so fast that he wondered if his stomach could possibly use food thrown at it at such a rate of speed. He was still wondering about it as he and Mae were putting their coats on in the hall.

Mae paused to look at the calendar. "It's the thirteenth," she said. Then a faint excitement in her voice. "Why it's Friday the thirteenth." She had one arm in her coat sleeve and she held it there while she stared at the calendar. "I oughtta stay home," she said. "I shouldn't go otta the house."

"Aw don't be a fool," he said. "To-day's payday. And payday is a good luck day everywhere, any way you look at it." And as she stood hesitating he said, "Aw, come on."

And he was late for work again because they spent fifteen minutes arguing before he could convince her she ought to go to work just the same. He had to talk persuasively, urging her gently and it took time. But he couldn't bring himself to talk to her roughly or threaten to strike her like a lot of men might have done. He wasn't made that way.

So when he reached the plant he was late and he had to wait to punch the time clock because the day shift workers were streaming out in long lines, in groups and bunches that impeded his progress.

Even now just starting his work-day his legs ached. He had to force himself to struggle past the out-going workers, punch the time clock, and get the little cart he pushed around all night because he kept toying with the idea of going home and getting back in bed.

He pushed the cart out on the concrete floor, thinking that if this was his plant he'd make a lot of changes in it. There were too many standing up jobs for one thing. He'd figure out some way most of 'em could be done sitting down and he'd put a lot more benches around. And this job he had—this job that forced him to walk ten hours a night, pushing this little cart, well, he'd turn it into a sittin-down job. One of those little trucks they used around railroad stations would be good for a job like this. Guys sat on a seat and the thing moved easily, taking up little room and turning in hardly any space at all, like on a dime.

He pushed the cart near the foreman. He never could remember to refer to her as the forelady even in his mind. It was funny to have a woman for a boss in a plant like this one.

She was sore about something. He could tell by the way her face was red and her eyes were half shut until they were slits. Probably been out late and didn't get enough sleep. He avoided looking at her and hurried a little, head down, as he passed her though he couldn't resist stealing a glance at her out of the corner of his eyes. He saw the edge of the light colored slacks she wore and the tip end of a big tan shoe.

"Hey, Johnson!" the woman said.

The machines had started full blast. The whirr and the grinding made the building shake, made it impossible to hear conversations. The men and women at the machines talked to each other but looking at them from just a little distance away they appeared to be simply moving their lips because you couldn't hear what they were saying. Yet the woman's voice cut across the machine sounds—harsh, angry.

He turned his head slowly. "Good Evenin', Mrs. Scott," he said and waited.

"You're late again."

"That's right. My legs were bothering me."

The woman's face grew redder, angrier looking. "Half this shift comes in late," she said. "And you're the worst one of all. You're always late. Whatsa matter with ya?"

"It's my leg," he said. "Somehow they don't ever get rested. I don't seem to get used to sleeping days. And I just can't get started."

"Excuses. You buys always got excuses," her anger grew and spread. "Every guy comes in here late always has an excuse. His wife's sick or his grandmother died or somebody in the family had to go to the hospital," she paused, drew a deep breath. "And the niggers are the worse. I don't care what's wrong with your legs. You get in here on time. I'm sick of you niggers—"

"You got the right to get mad," he interrupted softly. "You got the right to cuss me four ways to Sunday but I ain't letting nobody call me a nigger."

He stepped closer to her. His fists were doubled. His lips were drawn back in a thin narrow line. A vein in his forehead stood out swollen, thick.

And the woman backed away from him, not hurriedly but slowly—two, three steps back.

"Aw, forget it," she said. "I didn't mean nothing by it. It sliped out. It was a accident." The red of her face deepened until the small blood vessels in her cheecks were purple. "Go on and get to work," she urged. And she took three more slow backward steps.

He stood motionless for a moment and then turned away from the red lipstick on her mouth made him remember that the foreman was a woman. And he couldn't bring himself to hit a woman. He felt a curious tingling in his fingers and he looked down at his hands. They were clenched tight, hard, ready to smash some of those small purple veins in her face.

He pushed the cart ahead of him, walking slowly. When he turned his head, she was staring in his direction, mopping her forehead with a dark blue handkerchief. Their eyes met and then they both looked away.

He didn't glance in her direction again but moved past the long work benches, carefully collecting the finished parts, going slowly and steadily up and down, back and forth the length of the building and as he walked he forced himself to swallow his anger, get rid of it.

And he succeeded so that he was able to think about what had happened without getting upset about it. An hour went by but the tension stayed in his hands. They were clenched and knotted on the handles of the cart as though ready to aim a blow.

And he thought he should have hit her anyway, smacked her hard in the face, felt the soft flesh of her face give under the hardness of his hands. He tried to make his hands relax by offering them a description of what it would have been like to strike her because he had the queer feeling that his hands were not exactly a part of him any more—they had developed a separate life of their own over which he had no control. So he dwelt on the pleasure his hands would have felt—both of them cracking at her, first one and then the other. If he had done that his hands would have felt good now—relaxed, rested.

And he decided that even if he'd lost his job for it he should have let her have it and it would have been a long time, maybe the rest of her life before she called anybody else a nigger.

The only trouble was he couldn't hit a woman. A woman couldn't hit back the same way a man did. But it would have been a deeply satisfying thing to have cracked her narrow lips wide open with just one blow, beautifully timed and with all his weight in back of it. That way he would have gotten rid of all the energy and tension his anger had created in him. He kept remembering how his heart had started pumping blood so fast he had felt it tingle even in the tips of his fingers.

With the approach of night fatigue nibbled at him. The corners of his mouth dropped, the frown between his eyes deepened, his shoulders sagged; but his hands stayed tight and tense. As the hours dragged by he noticed that the women workers had started to snap and snarl at each other. He couldn't hear what they said because of the sound of the machines but he could see the quick lip movements that sent words tumbling from the sides of their mouths. They gestered irritably with their hands and scowled as their mouths moved.

Their violent jerky motions told him that it was getting close on to quitting time but somehow he felt that the night still stretched ahead of him, composed of endless hours of steady walking on his aching legs. When the whistle finally blew he went on pushing the cart, unable to believe that it had sounded. The whirring of the machines died away to a murmur and he knew then that he'd really heard the whistle. He stood still for a moment filled with a relief that made him sigh.

Then he moved briskly, putting the cart in the store room, hurrying to take his place in the line forming before the paymaster. That was another thing he'd change, he thought. He'd have the pay envelopes handed to the people right at their benches so there wouldn't be ten or fifteen minutes lost waiting for the pay. He always got home about fifteen minutes late on payday. They did it better in the plant where Mae worked, brought the money right to them at their benches.

He stuck his pay envelope in his pants' pocket and followed the line of workers heading for the subway in a slow moving stream. He glanced up at the sky. It was a nice night, the sky looked packed full to running over with stars. And he thought if he and Mae would go right to bed when they got home from work they'd catch a few hours of darkness for sleeping. But they never did. They fooled around—cooking and eating and listening to the radio and he always stayed in a big chair in the living room and went almost but not quite to sleep and when they finally got to bed it was five or six in the morning and daylight was already seeping around the edges of the sky.

He walked slowly, putting off the moment when he would have to plunge into the crowd hurring toward the subway. It was a long ride to Harlem and to-night the thought of it appalled him. He paused outside an all-night restaurant to kill time, so that some of the first rush of workers would be gone when he reached the subway.

The lights in the restaurant were brilliant, enticing. There was life and motion inside. And as he looked through the window he thought that everything within range of his eyes gleamed—the long imitatilon marble counter, the tall stools, the white porcelain topped tables and especially the big metal coffee urn right near the window. Steam issued from its top and a gas flame flickered under it—a lively, dancing, blue flame.

A lot of the workers from his shift—men and women—were lining up near the coffee urn. He watched them walk to the porcelain topped tables carrying steaming cups of coffee and he saw that just the smell of the coffee lessened the fatigue lines in their faces. After the first sip their faces softened, they smiled, they began to talk and laugh.

On a sudden impulse he shoved the door open and joined the line in front of the coffee urn. The line moved slowly. And as he stood there the smell of the coffee, the sound of the laughter and of the voices, helped dull the sharp ache in his legs.

He didn't pay any attention to the girl who was serving the coffee at the urn. He kept looking at the cups in the hands of the men who had been ahead of him. Each time a man stopped out of the line with one of the thick white cups the fragrant steam got in his nostrils. He saw that they walked carefully so as not to spill a single drop. There was a froth of bubbles at the top of each cup and he thought about how he would let the bubbles break against his lips before he actually took a big deep swallow.

Then it was his turn. "A cup of coffee," he said, just as he had heard the others say.

The girl looked past him, put her hands up to her head and gently lifted her hair away from the back of her neck, tossing her head back a little. "No more coffee for awhile," she said.

He wasn't certain he'd heard her correctly and he said, "What?" blankly.

"No more coffee for awhile," she repeated.

There was silence behind him and then uneasy movement. He thought someone would say something, ask why or protest, but there was only silence and then a faint shuffling sound as though the men standing behind him had simultaneously shifted their weight from one foot to the other.

He looked at her without saying anything. He felt his hands begin to tingle and the tingling went all the way down to his finger tips so that he glanced down at them. They were clenched tight, hard, into fists. Then he looked at the girl again. What he wanted to do was hit her so hard that the scarlet lipstick on her mouth would smear and spread over her nose, her chin, out toward her cheeks; so hard that she would never toss eher head again and refuse a man a cup of coffee because he was black.

He estimated the distance across the coun-

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The Detroit Elections: Problem in Reconversion

By Gloster B. Current

A factual discussion of the men and the issues in the Detroit mayoralty and councilmanic elections

WITH mounting unemployment, strikes, and the demand of the CIO for a thirty per cent wage increase thrown into the boiling kettle of reconversion problems, the approaching November 7 election in Detroit has achieved nation-wide interest. As the date nears for settling the issues of housing, transportation, employment and many other economic issues affecting the common man at the polls, the question worrying strategists for labor and management is whether Detroit will elect a labor mayor, and three progressives—one of them a Negro—to the Common Council.

A labor mayor means a labor government. A labor government means an end to the conservatism of the Jeffries' administration and full speed ahead for the auto worker's plans to make Detroit a labor town. A labor town will mean that government will pay more heed to anti-discrimination programs and no longer will the city government be a party to segregation and discrimination as public policy.

In the August 7 primary 202,801 voters went to the polls on a hot summer's day and nominated Rev. Charles A. Hill for Common Council and Richard T. Frankensteen for mayor. Hill, militant pastor of the Hartford Baptist Church, finished ninth in the field of 66 candidates for the Common Council. His ninth place gave him the distinction of placing higher than any Negro candidate has done in previous elections.

Frankensteen, vice-president of the powerful United Automobile Workers Union (CIO), with PAC and Negro support, some scattering help from liberal and progressive organizations, "bested" Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., in the primary by 14,000 votes. The 1945 primary was labor's third major bid to elect a mayor; its first try to eelct one of its own men. In 1937, labor-supported Attorney Patrick H. O'Brien took a beating. In that year most Negro workers did not belong to the unions and voted against the labor slate.

In 1943, labor and Negroes, along with liberal organizations, supported Judge Frank Fitzgerald against Jeffries. In the 1943 primary Fitzgerald received 98,583 votes while Jeffries could only get 60,360. In desperation, Jeffries with the aid of the Detroit *News* launched a campaign of "race-baiting" and "labor-baiting" which turned the tables in the election. The "hate" campaign waged by Jeffries was unparalleled in Detroit election history.

Bruno Hollywood

Richard T. Frankensteen, vice-president of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) has high hopes of unseating Detroit's Mayor Jeffries in the November 6, 1945, *elections.*

Jeffries' Record

Jeffries has been mayor in Detroit since 1939. Before that he was president of the Common Council. In all elections prior to 1943, he had strong Negro support. His father, Judge Edward J. Jeffries, was an old-time liberal and a friend of Negroes and labor. Whenever a Negro was brought into his court, a victim of brutality or unwarranted arrest, the "old man" would lecture the cop and let the downtrodden defendant go. Before he died, the Judge campaigned for his son in Negro districts and asked, as a favor to him, that the boy be elected to Council. Thus the Negro voters came to support the younger Jeffries and stuck with him through his early political career.

The war accentuated the housing problem in Detroit. Housing for Negroes was fifty per cent substandard in 1940, but the increase of war workers to man the newly created industries called for increased housing. Because of a Jeffries-created policy of "not changing the racial characteristics" of neighborhoods where war-housing projects were built, the needs of Negro war workers were unmet throughout the entire war period.

The Detroit branch of the NAACP in April, 1943, requested the Housing Commission to declare a policy of "bi-racial" occupancy in order to allow those who were in need of housing to fill the units on a "first come, first served" basis. Instead, the Housing Commission, at Jeffries' request, formulated the "racial characteristics" policy.

The famous Detroit Riot occurred in June, 1943. According to sociologists and others who investigated the riot, its cause was primarily the housing shortage and police brutality. The police department's attitude toward Negroes was severely censured by Walter White and Thurgood Marshall in their report on the riot and by Humphrey and Lee in their book *Race Riot.*

Jeffries issued a *white paper* after the riot condemning Negro leaders, militant organizations and the Negro press. Dr. James J. McClendon, president of the Detroit branch, and the Association came in for special criticism by Jeffries because of their activity to secure mixed housing. The mayor attempted to say that militancy, rather than lack of housing and the brutality of the police, was the cause of the conflict.

It was natural that Negro voters would oppose Jeffries in the 1943 election. The question is asked, what has he done since 1943 to correct the conditions which created conflict?

A new police commissioner was appointed after his re-election—John Ballenger, former welfare commissioner. He was given the job of assuaging Negroes by making improvements in the Department. Ballenger has done a good job. As Commissioner, he caused the retirement of Superintendent Louis L. Berg, who was considered "anti-Negro." He promoted liberal officers to places of responsibility and consulted with Negro leaders on

*Sheriff Andrew **Baird** of Wayne County offers support to Rev. Charles A. Hill in his fight for election to the Detroit Common Council. To the left of Mr. Hill is Fred A. Allen, prominent businessman who is conducting the campaign for Hill. Hill also has PAC and progressive support.*

policy affecting the community. Whenever reports of brutality were submitted by NAACP or other organizations, the Commissioner has given the complainants sympathetic hearing and in some instances the officers have been brought before the trial board.

The housing problem, however, became worse. By December, 1944, the Housing Commission wrote the mayor that under the policy of not changing the racial characteristics, they had reached their limit of war housing for Negroes. There were no additional sites available for the 14,000 bonafide applicants seeking housing. The FPHA had programmed 1400 units of housing for the Detroit area but there were no acceptable sites available under the Mayor's policy.

The Mayor presented the matter to the Common Council on January 18, 1945. He did not ask for a change in policy, merely stated the problem and made on recommendation. Since it was his policy in the first place, the Council hedged and began to delay action on the information supplied by the Housing Commission.

One month later the Common Council asked the Housing Commission to make a specific recommendation. The Commission recommended a site in southwest Detroit known as Oakwood. A few months earlier the Watson Realty Company, a Negro concern, purchased an entire subdivision in the district for FHA homes. The Circuit Court of Wayne County ruled that the purchase removed the restrictions. The changing character of the neighborhood was the basis of reasoning behind the Housing Commission's recommendation to place 1,000 units of housing in that section. But the residents of the area thought otherwise. A hearing was requested for March 9th by the Improvement Associations of Oakwood. In mass meetings held in the area the white residents cited a "prior" right and demanded, in petitions submitted to the Council containing 3,000 signatures, that the section not have the racial characteristics changed *by building a public housing project for Negro occupancy.*

Because of growing racial tensions, Negro leaders, through a statement issued by NAACP and signed by heads of twelve organizations, urged that there be no demonstration at the City Hall and recommended that Negroes remain away from the hearing. On the day of hearing more than 3,000 neighbors from Oakwood jammed the City Hall and overflowed into the corridors on every floor and stairway. The fire and police department had to clear the building. Six hundred citizens were allowed to remain in the Council chambers. Of this number only twenty were Negroes.

The Council deferred action until late in March when it voted five to four to reject the recommendation of the Housing Commission. Voting "no" were Councilmen Castator, Comstock, Rogell, Dorais and Lodge. Castator was elected in 1943 by a huge majority of Negro votes. A DSR Bus Driver, Castator was considered a progressive, but his actions in the Council have shown him to be among the anti-Negro forces. Comstock, a former Michigan Democratic Governor, was heard to remark that the first mistake made by American white people was to have brought the Negro to America.

After the Common Council's defeat of the Housing Commission's recommendation progressive forces called for political action to remove the Mayor and the anti-progressive Councilmen.

Negro Leaders Met

Negro leaders met March 23, a few days after the Council hearing, and drafted Rev. Charles Hill, to run for council. The leaders present formed a committee to work for his election. Fred A. Allen, president of the Wayne County Better Homes Corporation, president of Paradise Valley Men's Association and owner of the Supreme Linen and Laundry Supply Company, was chosen chairman of the "Hill for Council Committee".

All Negro forces did not unite at first behind Hill. In 1943 Attorney Edward Simmons was the Negro candidate. He finished thirteenth in the election with 98,000 votes. Many Negro leaders were dissatisfied with Simmons during the interim between elections. He had played with the Jeffries forces and did not participate in any of the activity for housing and against brutality. His voice had not been heard once on issues affecting the community. Jeffries appointed him to the Mayor's Interracial Committee after the eceliton. The Committee, because of its appeasement attitude and "do nothing" program, was not in good repute with the representative leadership.

The Simmons forces, led by Joe Cole and Emmett Cunningham, prominent local Democratic politicians, attempted to break the coalition behind Hill and to secure support for their candidate. Editorials in Negro newspapers, however, told them that the Negro leadership was solidly behind Hill. Said the Detroit ***Tribune,*** March 31, in an editorial "No Monkey Wrench Please":

> In the campaign to elect a colored councilman, the voters cannot afford to let monkey wrenches be thrown into the machine. We must therefore be on guard to discourage all attempts of *political saboteurs of the bandanna type* who may later be influenced to enter the campaign to split the Negro vote and defeat the effort to elect a member of the race to the Council.

Endorsing Hill, the *Tribune* observed:

> We believe he is worthy of political support and confidence of all public-minded citizens of both races, who have the welfare of Detroit at heart.

The Simmons forces held a meeting early in April, but were unable to secure any formidable support for their candidate. Being practical politicians, they advised Simmons to throw in the sponge and get behind Hill. Declaring that his withdrawal was because of a "sincere desire to advance the cause of unity" in a letter to the newspapers on April 30th, Simmons said he would support Hill and urged those who voted for him to support the "unity" candidate.

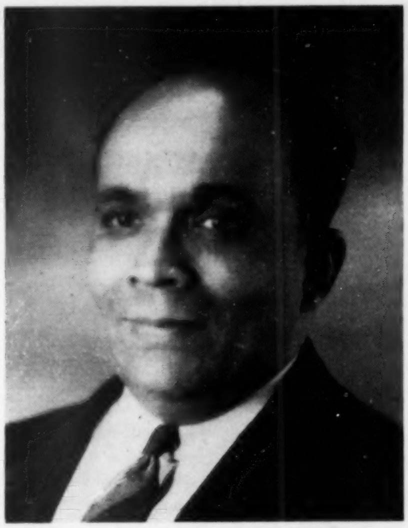
This Man Hill

Rev. Hill led the Sojourner Truth Citizens Committee in the memorable fight to retain the Sojourner Truth Homes for those for whom it was built in 1942. The fight for the project involved thousands of citizens and numerous organizations. Hill led the coalition of forces which picketed the City Hall and the Housing Commission; went to Washington on many trips and otherwise fought until the units were finally occupied by Negroes in May, 1942. The occupancy was not accomplished without a minor riot, however, which took place in February, 1942.

This outspoken pastor of one of the largest Baptist Churches in Detroit is at present building an addition to his church. Father of eight children and a native Detroiter, Hill was acclaimed the best person to take up the political cudgel in 1945. Hill is vice-president of the Metropolitan Council on Fair Employment Practices, a War Chest Agency to combat discrimination in employment; was a member of the first Mayor's Interracial Committee appointed after the Riot. He has served as chairman of the Interracial Committee of the Council of Churches for the past three years. He was also one of the few Negro ministers in Detroit who assisted with the organizing of the Ford Motor Company by the UAW-CIO.

Campaign Issues and PAC

In addition to lack of housing, issues which influenced the Negro voter were sanitation, transportation, recreation and employment. Alleys in Negro neighborhoods sighed with relief when the Department of Public Works periodically got around to removing rubbish and filth. In overcrowded neighborhoods it was a common sight during the past three years to see garbage and trash piled fence high with rats swarming all over. The Health Commissioner, Dr. Bruce Douglas, remarked that it was impossible to enforce Detroit's health regulations because of overcrowding and lack of housing facilities. Recreation facilities were admittedly below standard for a city of Detroit's size. During the war the transportation system had been overtaxed and complaints because of poor service reached a new high.



Negroes in Detroit, with the support of labor and progressives, feel that Charles A. Hill, militant Detroit pastor, may become the first Negro elected to Council.

The Hill for Council Committee through which Negro leaders channelled their political activity, joined forces with PAC, labor's political organ. The PAC slate include Frankensteen for Mayor, Lt. George Edwards, incumbent councilman, Tracy Doll, executive secretary of the Wayne County PAC, and Rev. Charles Hill, for Council.

"What's good for *Detroit* is good for *LABOR*" became the slogan of the campaign. With clever literature reminiscent of the recent presidential campaign, PAC drove home to voters that Detroit needs to do something about jobs, transportation, parks and clean alleys. One leaflet depicted a garbage can piled high with bottles, trash and debris. Two huge rats were having a picnic feeding among the rubbish. The caption to the picture asked, "Can we afford another 2 years of 'Do Nothing Junior'?"

A cartoon humorously depicted Detroit's rapid transit system as a buggy drawn by a broken-down horse. Seated in the driver's seat was Jeffries. Riding as passengers were Councilmen Rogell and Dorais, whom PAC and Negro voters weer attempting to beat. Dorais' claim to fame is as former coach of the University of Detroit football team, and as present coach of the Detroit Lions, professional football team. Rogell was former shortstop for the Detroit Tigers baseball team. In this leaflet Frankensteen declared:

> The patience of the public spirited citizens of Detroit has reached a stage of exhaustion. In this city it is inexcusable that workers are forced to wait hours for a crowded street car or overloaded buses to transport them to work. Nor is there any reasonable excuse why busy housewives are compelled to strap-hang all the way downtown when shopping for the family.

Frankensteen declared that "an alert, active city administration" could remedy this situation by "proper planning, reorganization and implementation of all available transportation facilities."

Evidently this argument struck home for after the primaries Jeffries told William S. Bullock, General Manager of the Detroit Street Railways, "either tell the public honestly just what is wrong with DSR service and what you are doing to improve it or you won't be head man of the system." Jeffries' ultimatum was issued Friday, September 7. Bullock in his answer declared that the inadequate service was due to a "manpower problem".

During the summer, Detroit had a meat shortage due to indaequate slaughter quotas for the city. Black markets were flourishing. Another PAC leaflet given city-wide distribution was illustrated with a cartoon showing a thief coming out of a store marked "Black Market Operators" while a policeman leaned against a nearby telephone pole twirling a stick and whistling. The policeman was captioned "Jeffries Administration." Frankensteen charged in this leaflet that through the Police Department the City of Detroit had the means to stamp out black market operations, "but Mayor Jeffries has not seen fit to use them."

All PAC literature carried the slate of Frankensteen, Edwards, Doll and Hill. Shop stewards were pulled out of the plants and became precinct workers on local union pay. Due to PAC activity, city election officials were forced to raise their pre-election estimates from 100,000 voters to 175,000. When the votes were counted more than 200,000 actually went to the polls.

How Negroes Voted

For this article 172 precincts in predominantly Negro areas were selected for study. There are 212,000 Negroes in Detroit and since they live in several communities throughout the city, it is difficult to tabulate the total Negro vote. Good estimates can be secured, however, by aligning Census tracts with precincts.

Of the 779,070 city-wide registered voters as of February, 1945, 202,801 cast votes on August 7th. Or 26.2 per cent of the registered voted. There were in February 120,025 registered Negro voters, 32,758 of whom voted on August 7th. Of the Negroes, 27.2 per cent voted.

Negroes constitute 12.7 per cent of the population in Detroit, and the figures for the 172 precincts represent approximately 85 per cent of the total Negro vote.

The percentage of registered voters voting in the primary in Negro precincts was one

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Non-Fraternization: American Style

By William Worthy, Jr.

Northern Negroes, according to the writer, are almost as effectively segregated by custom as their Southern brothers are by law

"ALMOST all Negroes are neurotic!" The scene—the bank of the Charles River Basin. The occasion—an evening walk during summer vacation. The speaker—a high-school chum now missing in action (from a Jim-Crow Air Force unit). The remark, in emancipated Boston—startling.

Eight years for me to digest in full this penetrating observation—four of them college years in even less race-conscious Maine and only a few months of them in segregated Dixie. But group relations above the Mason and Dixon line have been sufficiently restrained for this truth to sink in; for my friend was referring not particularly to the Southland where the lines of caste are well-defined and unwavering, but rather to the neither-nor region of the North—to our native New England, for example, where in certain spheres the ring of segregation-discrimination contracts to an ellipse and the Negro grows neurotic adjusting neither to completely racist mores nor to completely uninhibited freedom. In my general psychology book, the intelligent dog who had been conditioned to jump through a loop and to bark at an ellipse quickly went mad when the loop was gradually changed to an in-between shape, not quite circular and not quite elliptical.

The North's in-between racial structure tarnishes attitudes in practically every realm of human relations. A dull fuzziness of caste lines is the keynote. A local union in New York, Hartford, Milwaukee, Detroit elects a Negro president, sends a Negro delegate to the annual convention, financially supports a permanent FEPC campaign. Yet at union meetings most of the colored and white members congregate in separate groups of seats. In the factory itself, whites and blacks may sit down on the same toilet seats, but eat apart in the cafeteria. And rare is the Caucasion trade unionist who goes beyond the requirements of the organization's constitution by inviting a Negro co-worker to dinner or a private party at his home. "Equal pay for equal work" (a self-interest slogan, in the final analysis) occupies one compartment of his partially enlightened mind. Racial separatism occupies another.

Education, we are told again and again, is the answer to our racial woes—especially education in unsegregated schools. But stroll by any mixed Northern high school at the end of the day, and, two-to-one, the Negroes and white are leaving the building and boarding the same busses in neatly separated groups. A Negro boy or girl may be president of a predominantly white class, but great would be the consternation if that same popular student brought a "white" date to a school dance. Not in all cases to be sure, but the very faculty members who might previously have boasted of the school's "excellent" race relations, would brand such effrontery as "going too far."

The White Churches

After all, what educator or churchman doubts for a moment that our schools and churches are merely following the pure example in the Kingdom itself? Naturally the angels serenade the Lord in separate choirs, and the latest "gain" won up there is the founding (with divine financing) of *The Celestial Sepia,* edited and published by the sole Negro on St. Peter's staff and sold weekly on the darker side of Heaven. (Politically minded angels of lighter hue buy it at newsstands across the dividing line to keep up with what the Negro is singing.) Down below here, the earthly agents of Jehovah similarly take the lead in attending to the Negro's happiness, the church being unrivalled as Exhibit A in the natural system of separatism. A free Northern Negro faces no physical danger in crossing the boundaries of the various Harlems and walking a few blocks to a "white" church for a word with a pale-faced God. But the famed Riverside Church—a stone's throw from American's greatest concentration of color—has, I understand, one or two Negroes in the choir and even fewer among the parishioners. Not that any one church deserves to be singled out for special condemnation, but the reputation of a "progressive" Christianity in a number of Manhattan churches, for example, has failed to alter the racist pattern of divine worship. Under these circumstances the Devil has more than a foothold in the majestical citadels of brotherhood, and with the far-distant elimination of Negro slums the battle for human dignity will not be won if "restrictive covenants" still profane the temples of a color-blind God.

As one with little hope for the Church and those it keeps—(I know of *one* big-town church which is interracial fifty-two Sunday mornings a year)—I feel far more concern for other areas of human relations. In the North where, presumably, Negroes are at least human, no jim-crow transportation complicates war-time subway jams. But who ever bothers to ponder the rarity of white and Negro friends traveling together on an Illinois Central coach or on the IRT express? On those infrequent occasions when such interracialism does take place, the bi-racial friends invariably receive the undivided attention of every passenger not preoccupied with the *Sun* or the *News.* And when they happen to be mixed sexually as well as racially, the intense heat generated by the passengers' emotions is enough to disrupt the ventilating system. I question the substantiality everywhere of the Negro's heralded "gains" so long as hot indigation and manifestly obscene thoughts pop into Northerners' minds upon sight of a mixed couple. The "gain," I maintain, will rest on a non-equitarian, hence shaky foundation until glaring Northerners cease classifying Negroes in a lower species not entitled to a truly fraternal relationship.

Away from the cosmopolitan cities the tentacles of separatism have an equally firm grip. There, as elsewhere, a home-instilled "stick-to-your-own" philosophy and an unrecognized race consciousness exert a diabolically subtle influence on Negro and white psychology. The fish and woods and bodies of water draw no senseless color line on fugitives from city heat, but individual Negroes and families, together with separate clubs and outdoor recreational groups, constitute real caste clusters at beaches and picnic grounds from Atlantic City to the west coast. The racially neutral outdoors is witness to precious little brotherhood, so far as mixing of pigmentations is concerned. An occasional kindergarten outing and artists' colonies are the exceptions that dot the landscape.

Lest my implications up to here be misconstrued, I consider the Negro victims of separatism who bunch together to be committing no crime against society. Outcasts are also born with the instinct of gregariousness. But the bald fact remains that only with topsy-turvy premises to begin with do such aggregations of color make any sense or logic. Even in wartime, metropolitan dailies would use scarce newsprint to feature, humorously, a segregated settlement of blondes or red-heads, if such were discovered. But miscroscopically small in numbers are the Americans who see anything bizarre or primitively irrational about conglomerations of "colored" human beings whose widely shaded pigmentations are less of a real bond than is the universal corpulence and synthetic fellowship in fat men's clubs. Nature at least endows most fat men with common dietary problems, especially in days of shortages. But only an up-side-down set of mores invests persons of color with separate and specialized problem of adjustment. My appeal is simply for a radical subversion of these mores—now.

Token Brotherhood

At such a suggestion I immediately hear the gradualists of North and South shout that first things must come first: that first you must organize the workers and win NLRB elections even if you later find yourself with racist-minded workers who voted "yes" under false pretenses.* I hear the professors of logic rush to the defense of education with lofty words of "progress" whenever one Negro is admitted to a "white" college, despite tacit taboos on social mixing and indefensible admission quotas. I hear the radiant ministers report to a mayor's committee on unity that the annual exchange of white and Negro pulpits on Brotherhood Sunday represents a "great stride forward" for their prodigal flocks and that the Ladies Aid Society even invited a rapturous lecturer on spirituals. I see the YMCA Board of Directors point with bursting pride to the over-the-top Building Fund—with a five per cent allocation for a separate Negro branch to be just as big and wonderful (in proportion to the population, of course) as the central "Y" on Main Street. I hear the starry-eyed liberals proclaim that fine homes for Negro lawyers on Cape Cod are an "education" for many white vacationists, even if the homes are all in separate neighborhoods rarely traversed by the unenlightened outsiders.

To be fair, our Caucasian brothers are not alone in the fuzzy thinking that shoulders up a baseless separation. The clock moved back a hundred years when "spokesman" Booker T. Washington decreed that "on matters purely social" Negroes and white could be "separate as the fingers." Even today Negro leaders either do not choose or dare to call nationwide attention to the breadth of non-fraternization, let alone propound the lifting of the ban—a straightjacket on human relations as rigid in the spheres where it operates as the segregation laws of Mississippi. To these leaders, apparently, equality of opportunity, specifically economic, seems much more pressing at the moment, and the Negro's neuroses, arising from a separate set of institutions and usages amidst a star-spangled liturgy of equality, are left for "future" treatment. The possibility of parallelism, or a simultaneous attack on all factors circumscribing the manhood of Negroes, is currently beyond the purview of race relations experts. Like the participants on the Reader's Digest's Town Meeting broadcasts, one is ruled out of order upon straying from the well-chewed pastures of respectable racial rumination.

Vested interests also intervene to keep Negroes marooned on the "Isle of Separatism." A Negro hotelkeeper in a free city of the North views with disdain a Benedict Arnold in the colored camp who crosses the lines to a "white" hotel. (Compare the same type of understandable resentment shown by a storekeeper when an old customer switches her trade to a co-op.) Or a paid executive of a Negro fraternity harbors no love for a colored undergraduate at Harvard who voices a double set of democratic objections to an all-Negro exclusive society. To the mass of Northern Negroes, however, the attributes of separatism are as "natural" as the traffic light on the corner—and receive equally thoughtless obedience. The Negro newspapers regularly devote columns of space not to the problems of desecrated Europe but rather to the activities of colored students in local colleges, to the social functions at Negro summer resorts, to the goings-on in a variety of inconsequential Negro clubs and associations. With the agitation in Negro circles almost totally directed against the grosser forms of segregation-discrimination, the subtler evils of separation and the extremely limited extent of bonafide interracialism are hardly noted by the sincerest of whites and Negroes.

Fruits of Separatism

Exceptional insights do occur, however, combined with the courage to speak out in criticism. Not long ago a white official of Boston's Ford Hall Forum wrote a "letter to the editor." To me his complaint fully exemplifies the fruits of separatism. According to the letter, Boston's darker population turns out for edification on Sunday evenings only when a Negro lecturer is featured. As much as this interest is welcomed at Ford Hall, said the writer, the members and regular audience would by far prefer to have their colored brothers attend *all* the forums when equally renowned and worthwhile speakers appear. The suggestion for weekly attendance is especially well taken when we consider that a colored speaker rarely says anything about the problem of the races which is at all unfamiliar to most Negro adults. Like the triumphs of Joe Louis, his speech merely bolsters the race pride which the daily evils of separatism so persistently undermine.

When because of fatuous mores a group's attention is in this fashion directed inward and its perspective warped by an inhibiting environment, the world's opportunists step in to enjoy an open season on the chauvinists thus spawned. For many years white politicians, together with Uncle Toms, have sewn up the misled Negro vote by handing out a minimum number of jobs to party loyalists and by paying innocuous homage to special Negro events. (Annually on Boston Massacre day the Hub's mayor or the governor decorates the grace of revered Crispus Attucks.) With disheartening naiveté the Negro press has always featured such patent political cynicism with as much joyful fanfare as might be expected if the mass of Negro workers had won a 30% wage increase and had united to build decent homes for themselves in previously restricted areas.

If Negro voters are hoodwinked into expecting less than even their white brothers receive through major party rule, so too are Negro union members short-changed (the entire labor movement being thereby weakened). With hardly a breath of criticism agaonst them, the national officials of respectable trade unions distribute staff positions to Negro faithfuls not as one effective means for widening the area of true interracialism, but rather as political sops to a good-sized bloc within the organization. (In those unions without such a bloc we seldom find Negroes on the staff, even when the officials are members of other minority groups.) It is generally understood by all concerned that such staff representatives will confine their activities to the colored members and, on appropriate occasions, keep the boys "reasonable."* I am willing to hazard a guess that even "progressive" unions spend less, in proportion to their size and resources, on educating their members for equality than do the Southern states on segregated Negro education—and with equally tragic results guaranteed in the long run. Not by a long shot is the average Negro unionist a complete trade unionist, the pious convention resolutions on discrimination notwithstanding.

An interesting sidelight on the racialism ("liberal" brand) found in unions and elsewhere is that in private conversation the compromised Negro leaders are quick to affirm, while describing their give-away functions, that no limitations have been imposed upon their freedom. At times, one should note, the true nature of this kind of separatism becomes as naked and obtrusive as a jim-crow seat on a Southern train, and the Negro of today reacts with equal mental distaste. I observe the same phenomenon in the sole colored staff members on a Northern publication who was obviously hired some time ago to prove the liberalism of the editor and to handle, as a versatile expert, all affairs pertaining to Negroes. But with the sensitivity typical of many who find themselves these days in a coercive situation, he avers that the editor gives him many

(*Continued on page* 327)

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* Once the election is duly won, contract negotiations of course become the "first " item of business. Afterwards, the national representatives and organizers leave town to win more elections, with the possibility of some local . . . with local prejudices, carrying on.

* I feel morally obligated to cite the outstanding exception of which I am aware. Monroe Sweetland, formerly with the CIO, left no stone unturned in his efforts to promote unadulterated interracialism everywhere. Undoubtedly other less prominent labor leaders are following a similarly forthright policy.

Along the N. A. A. C. P. Battlefront

CAMPAIGN WINNERS *for 1945 in the Kansas City, Mo., membership campaign. Left to right, sitting: Miss Anna Reddins, Mrs. Clara F. Miller, David Phelps, and Mrs. Veola Peyton. Left to right, standing: Rev. C. C. Royal, Mrs. Virginia Durroh, Thomas Graves, and Mrs. Goldie Elliot.*

Oppose Segregated Aviation Training: The NAACP has voiced unqualified opposition to the proposed Army Air Force plan to establish a "composite group" of Negro bombers and fighters as a segregated unit at the Tuskegee Air Field.

Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson was informed that the Association opposed the plan because it (1) is unalterably opposed to segregation in the postwar Air Force or Army; because (2) the racial atmosphere of Alabama is such that no self-respecting Negro member of the Air Force could serve there without the risk of clashes with the dominant community pattern of anti-Negroism; and because (3) it is understood that the proposed establishment of a composite group for the training of Negro fighters and bombers applies only to Negroes.

It is further pointed out that the Tuskegee Field does not at present have adequate facilities for training command or tactical units. Nor does it have adequate housing and other facilities for officers and enlisted personnel. Where Negro fighters and bombers will be trained together at one inadequately equipped field, the white fighter units will be assigned for training at one field and the bombers at another under different command.

When it was reported that Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, was urging the establishment of a segregated unit at Tuskegee, the NAACP queried him on his position by telegram. On September 25 Dr. Patterson telegraphed his reply: "I have suggested to War Department that Negro fighter units now segregated wherever they are located be based at the Tuskegee Army Flying Field in terms of their peacetime strength and until such times as the Army develops a policy which will discontinue these squadrons as Negro units with integration with other flying personnel. These squadrons is based at the Tuskegee Army Flying Field would be units of the Southeastern Flying Command as would white units based in this area. Please quote this statement in full if it is used or referred to. Thanks."

The NAACP expressed disagreement with Dr. Patterson's proposal that segregation be continued or that any encouragement should be given to segregation until such time as the War Department of its own volition decides to abolish it.

A few weeks later, however, Dr. Patterson issued a statement in which he withdrew his original suggestion in support of a jim-crow Army air field at Tuskegee. Dr. Patterson said: "I do not believe that the best interest of the colored man in the Army will be served if the group were stationed in this community, with the personnel of said group displeased with the location. Harmonious workers together between Tuskegee Institute and flying personnel is important for successful relationships."

NMA Does Not Want Segregated Veterans Hospitals: Of a piece with Dr. Patterson's suggestion that the Army Air Force maintain its segregated units at the Tuskegee Army Flying Field is General Omar Bradley's statement that certain Negro doctors have ben urging him to establish separate hospitals for Negro veterans. When Walter White queried Dr. E. I. Robinson of Los Angeles, Calif., president of the National Medical Association (NMA), following General Omar Bradley's statement, Dr. Robinson telegraphed the following reply: "Any minority group of Negro doctors desiring segregated veterans facilities are not known to the National Medical Association and certainly expresses a very small minority opinion requesting segregated veterans hospitals. I cannot envision any member of our national organization making any such request. I wish that the Veterans Committee of the National Medical Association could have conference with General Omar Bradley. I am writing chairman of committee to make appointment. The National Medical Association is one hundred percent with the NAACP in its fight against segregated veterans facilities."

Walter White then telegraphed Dr. Robinson offering whatever aid the NAACP can give in arranging an appointment with General Bradley, administrator of the Veterans Administration, and suggesting that a joint conference of the NMA and the NAACP with General Bradley be held to demonstrate the unity of thoughtful and intelligent Negro opinion against segregation of Negro veterans in American hospitals.

The Association is already on record in favor of non-segregated veterans' hospitals, full use of qualified Negro doctors, nurses, specialists, and administrative personnel in veterans' hospitals and facilities; the inclusion of qualified Negroes in whatever division is set up to investigate complaints; and the use of qualified Negroes in all administrative and clerical departments of the Veterans Administration itself. The Association has also recommended the appointment of a qualified Negro at the policy-making and policy-executing level.

WILLKIE HOUSE DEDICATED: Formal dedication of the Wendell Willkie Memorial Building at 20 West 40th Street, New York City, took place on October 8. Among the speakers at the outdoor ceremony were Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State; Helen Hayes, famous actress; Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, which organization now occupies two floors in the building; and Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College.

NAACP branches, members, and friends have to date contributed $24,437.90 towards the Assocation pledge of $30,000 towards the cost of the purchase and remodelling of the building, which is located across the street from New York's famous 42nd Street Library.

Acme

NEGRO LAWYER NOMINATED TO CUSTOMS COURT—*President Truman (left), on the recommendation of Attorney General Tom Clark (right), nominated Irvin C. Mollison (center), Negro attorney of Chicago, to a vacancy on the nine-member U. S. Customs Court in New York. They are pictured in the President's office after the announcement was made.*

APPEAL FILED IN VOTE REGISTRATION CASE: On September 17, 1945, Judge Caillouet dismissed without opinion the complaint filed in the case of Edward Hall against the registrar of voters in St. John the Baptist Parish, Louisiana. The complaint alleged that Edward Hall, a qualified Negro voter, was denied the right to register by T. J. Nagel, local registrar, who subjected Hall and other Negroes to tests not required of white registrants and thereby denied them the equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

The complaint on behalf of Hall and other Negro citizens asked a declaratory judgment, an injunction and $5,000 damages. NAACP lawyers are preparing to appeal the case to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

In a similar case from Tuskegee, Alabama, filed on behalf of William F. Mitchell against local registrars of Macon county, Alabama, argument on Motion to Dismiss took place in the local federal court in Montgomery on September 20. Counsel for the registrar, including former Judge "Speed" Callaghan, judge of the Scottsboro trials, argued that the federal court did not have jurisdiction to consider a case on the refusal to register Negroes because of race or color. He argued that the case should be tried in the local state courts. After completion of the argument, the case was taken under advisement and a decision is expected soon.

In Atlanta, Ga., it was discovered that although the case filed by the Association against the local registrar brought about the sending of the lists of Negro voters to the precinct polls on election day, September 5, nevertheless, the local election officials refused to permit Negroes to vote in the "white primary." NAACP lawyers are preparing for filing additional cases against the local election officials. At the same time they are insisting that the Department of Justice prosecute these election officials for the violation of federal statutes.

These cases are part of a South-wide, accelerated policy of attack on all methods of discrimination against Negro voters throughout the South. It is expected that many other cases will be filed in these and other states wherever Negroes are denied the right to vote.

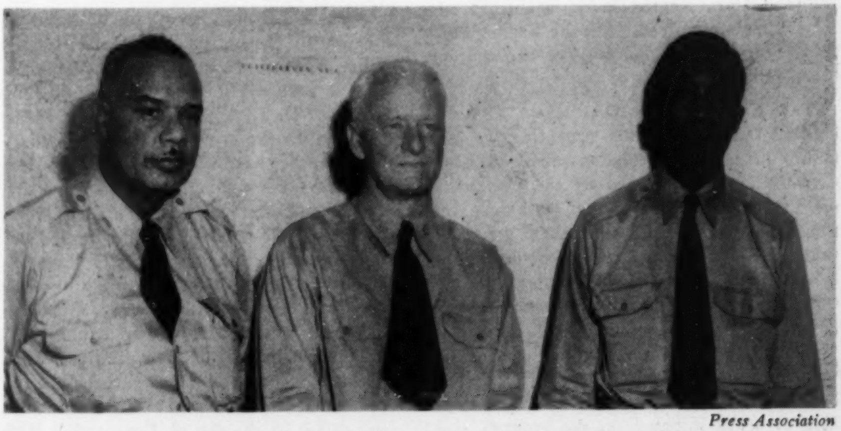
Attorneys in the Atlanta case were Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, and A. T. Walden of Atlanta. In the New Orleans case the counsel were Mr. Marshall and A. P. Tureaud and Joseph Thornton of New Orleans. In the Montgomery case, counsel were Mr. Marshall and Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, Alabama.

ROBESON PRESENTED SPINGARN MEDAL: The 30th Spingarn Medal was presented formally to Paul Robeson, internationally famous actor and singer, on Thursday, October 18, at a dinner in the Hotel Biltmore, New York City. The presentation address was made by Marshall Field, Chicago publisher. Marian Anderson, Spingarn medalist in 1938, appeared on the program to join in tribute to Mr. Robeson. Walter White, 1937 Spingarn medalist, presided.

Mr. Robeson was awarded the medal by a special committee last spring, but because of his theatre and concert commitments, including a USO tour overseas, the formal presentation was delayed until October.

SERVICEMEN SEND $2,098: In September a total of $2,098 was received by the NAACP from a battalion of Seabees and from an engineer aviation battalion. The Seabees, 29th Special USNCB, sent $716 through John C. Nunn, SK 2/c. The aviation battalion, the 849th, sent $1,382 through Captain Theodore R. Smith, chaplain, for memberships and subscriptions to *The Crisis* magazine.

NEW LIFE MEMBER: Joseph M. Goldwasser, president of the Peerless Furniture and Department store in Cleveland, Ohio, has become the seventy-second paid up life mem-



Press Association

CIVILIAN ADVISER WELCOMED—*Fleet Admiral C. W. Nimitz, Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Pacific Fleet and Pacific Ocean Areas (center) welcomes Lester B. Granger, civilian adviser to Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal (left) and Matthew Bullock (right), who is accompanying Mr. Granger at the Secretary's request, to visit U. S. Pacific Fleet Headquarters at Pearl Harbor. The pair is making a tour of forward areas in the Pacific.*

ber of the NAACP. Mr. Goldwasser completed the final payment on his $500 membership on September 6.

UAW Local Asks Pardon for Sailors: Local No. 15 of the United Automobile Workers of America has passed a unanimous resolution asking President Truman to grant a "full and unconditional pardon" to the fifty Negro sailors convicted of "mutiny" as an aftermath of the fatal ammunition explosion at Port Chicago, California, in July, 1944, which claimed a total of more than three hundred twenty-seven lives.

The UAW-CIO resolution said: "We call upon the CIO to cooperate with the NAACP in mobilizing all labor, liberal, Negro and working class fraternal organizations in a campaign for the pardon of these sailors."

The testimony of the men at the original courts-martial was not handled by the NAACP but the appeal of their sentence was handled before the Navy Board of Review by Thurgood and other NAACP lawyers. The Judge Advocate General of the Navy has approved the legal form of the courts-martial, but according to a letter dated August 15 from Secretary of the Navy Forrestal to the NAACP, the sentences "have not been affirmed" and "have not yet come to me for final review."

Louisiana Citizens Seek $100,000: A campaign for $100,000 to finance a four-point program for civil rights was launched in New Orleans, Louisiana, on September 9 by the Citizens Committee of the NAACP of Louisiana.

The outlined program is (1) to secure the ballot and break discriminatory registration practices and to maintain registration schools throughout the state; (2) to institute a series of court cases to equalize educational facilities in the state from the university level down to the elementary schools; (3) to combat police brutality; and (4) to integrate Negroes into the Home Guard.

The first case in the program is already under way in the form of a suit brought by Edward Hall, Negro citizen, against T. J. Nagel, registrar of St. John the Baptist Parish. See "Appeal Filed in Vote Registration Case" above.

Tax Exemption on DAR Hall Opposed by NAACP: Legislation proposing the removal of the tax-exemption provision from Constitution Hall, owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution, will have the support of the NAACP throughout the country. The DAR refused the use of the hall to Hazel Scott, pianist, for a concert because she is a Negro. The organization is free of taxes on the building and land because it claims to be a public institution, serving all the people of the District.

The movement to remove the tax exemption is being initiated on the grounds that since the hall bars Negro artists, it is now a private enterprise and should pay taxes.

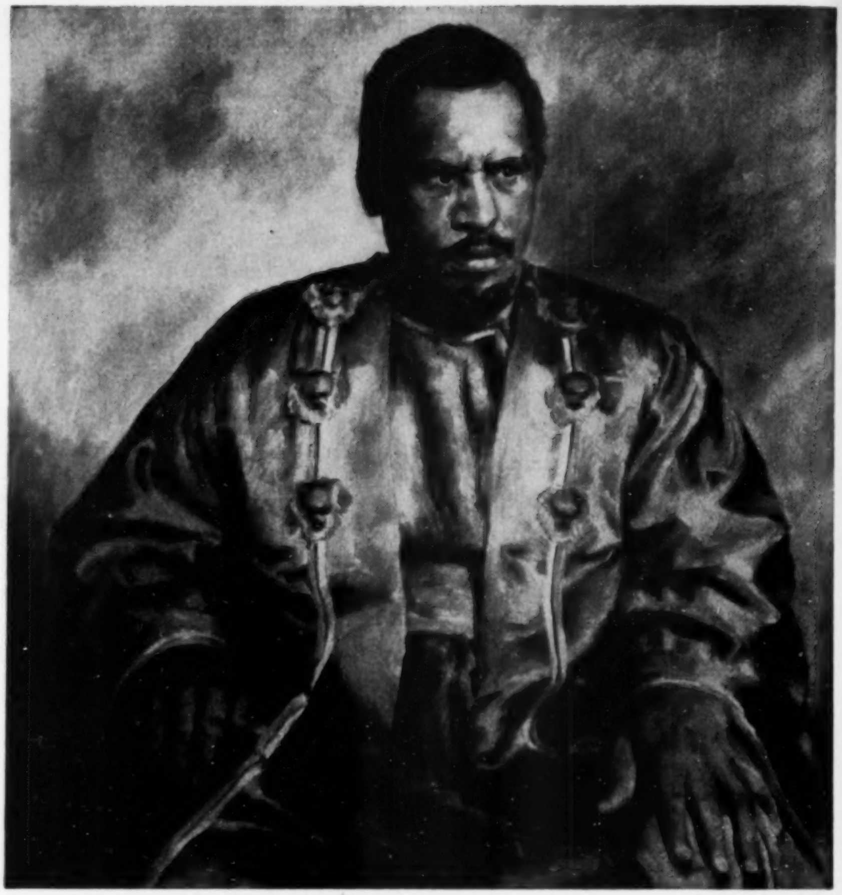
In New York, Walter White, NAACP secretary, issued the following statement:

"There is no more complete barometer of the low estate to which the Daughters of the American Revolution have sunk than the fact that the organization's sole defenders are Rankin and Bilbo. Refusal of the use of Constitution Hall to artists because of race or color, coming at the close of war against Hitlerism, is appalling. The action of the DAR, however, is not without value if it arouses Americans to a realization that they have helped destroy Hitlerism in Germany but permitted it to grow unchecked and unrebuked here in the United States. The NAACP Legal Committee and the Association as a whole will leave no stone unturned to effect the withdrawal of tax exemption and other benefits which the DAR enjoys as a quasi-public institution.

"The public might have forgiven Mrs. Truman for attending the luncheon the invitation for which she had accepted prior to the denial of the use of Constitution Hall to Hazel Scott. But her reply, "Why Not?" in response to a newspaper man's inquiry as to whether she would accept future invitations from the DAR is most disappointing, particularly in contrast with the action of her distinguished predecessor as First Lady."

NAACP Hits Printing DAR Reports at U. S. Expense: The fact that annual reports of the Daughters of the American Revolution are printed at Government expense has been disclosed by Leslie Perry, NAACP Washington Bureau, in a telegram of protest to Senator Carl Hayden, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Printing. Perry said that the DAR has issued annual reports for the past 47 years, all of which have been printed by the Government Printing Office as Senate Documents. The last report, which was printed in 1945, is a 202 page booklet, Perry said.

The NAACP urged Senator Hayden and other members of the Committee to introduce and consider legislation immediately to repeal the section of the law, contained in the Act incorporating the DAR, authorizing the Daughters to make an annual report of its activities to the Smithsonian Institution and Congress.



Peter A. Juley & Son

PAINTING OF THE 30TH SPINGARN MEDALIST *by the well-known portrait painter Mrs. Anne Beadenkopf of Baltimore, Md. Mrs. Beadenkopf did this portrait as part of her contribution toward greater interracial amity. The medal was presented to Mr. Robeson on October 18 by Marshall Field, owner and president of* PM *and editor of the Chicago* SUN, *at a dinner in the Hotel Biltmore, New York City.*

Southwestern Color

(A sequence of impressions of the color-line in the Southwest garnered as a by-product of two summers spent by the author in Oklahoma, Texas, and Mexico.)

For Whites Only (Brackettville, Texas)

"For Whites Only"—
once a triumphant slogan—
is now an epitaph
on the grave of dead hopes.
Behind this inscription
the clicking of marbles grows dry and thin,
"Jingle, Jangle, Jingle"
ragged and broken.

But every Negro cafe and drinking-shack
has a new pin-ball machine,
a more colorful jute-box.
The Seminole Negro girls
walk with a trooper on either arm.

The Fifth Cavalry has evacuated Fort Clark
and the Ninth (Colored) now occupies
Brackettville,
where "For Whites Only"
is nailed to the mast,
a bewildered banner of defeat.

Mexican Plate Lunch

"It's quite all right to eat at Lucy Jackson's,"
announced my Texas landlady.
"She's colored, of course,
but she's a good cook, and she serves whites."

"I was surprised," I carelessly remarked that
evening,
"to see Negroes, Mexicans, and whites
all sitting up at the counter
at Mrs. Jackson's cafe this noon."
"*Well.* She's not *supposed* to do that.
Are you sure they were eating *together*—
not one at one time and one at another?"
I re-considered rapidly.
"Yes, I think you're right.
I was there for over an hour.
It must have been at different times."

But I watched carefully next day
and I was right the first time.

South of the Border

In nacimiento, Coahuila,
the Negro settlers have good land—
legacy of Indian-fighting ancestors—
good adobe houses, good clothes;
they read and write.
The ragged Mexican late-comers
squat by sufferance on arid patches
in huts of sticks and dirt.
And so an individual
apparently *puro Mexicano*
will announce proudly:
"You know, I got *colored* in me!"

KENNETH PORTER

NUTRITION WEEK

Restaurant workers and employers, schools, church and club groups and neighborhood grocery stores participated in the third annual Food and Nutrition Week for Harlem, which began October 22, and closed October 27. Mrs. Irma Wilson, chairman of the District Nutrition Committee of Central Harlem, sponsored the project. A special phase of health and nutrition was emphasized each day at the New York Public Library, 136th Street, which was the focal point of the program.

Non-Fraternization

(*Continued from page 323*)

non-racial assignments throughout the state and that he covers Negro functions only "by choice." (To avoid a long walk when leaving the South last summer, I too "chose" to ride on a segregated train!)

Negro Chauvinism

But more ominous than even these white-conceived maneuvers to satisfy the Negro's minimum demands is the Negro's in-grown, home-spun ideology that today is arising, at least in part, from the soil of racial separatism. "Negroism"—Negro chauvinism—is the essence of this ideology. It is the antithesis of interracialism. It has no connection with the theory of human equality. Without the intentional malice, it is none the less as ill-fated as the "blond" chauvinsm of Hitler. It spells universal disaster.

At present its separatist roots are scarcely recognized. With so much printer's ink being devoted these days to the problems of the races, only a fraction of the writing really effervesces in the circle where it is read. Strange, therefore, that an obscure undergraduate editor should raise more bloodpressures in a few concise sentences than have the maturated well-paid writers who make a good thing out of race relations.

But it is not so strange upon reflection. The young lady journalist at William and Mary went far beyond a permanent FEPC and an anti-lynching bill in her parallel approaches to ultimate goals. Without advocating a cushioning (read "deadening") policy of gradualism, she cut through the pretense of two 'equal but separate' societies, and spoke for a true interracialism with all the concomitant trimmings. Every Negro traveler who has tasted the Supreme Court's delightfully equal but separate train accommodations must know that the slogan for tomorrow, the slogan of real freedom and manhood, can be nothing less than "equal and identical." That was the substance of the "FLAT HAT" editorial. Naturally it ruffled white fur because it spelled the death of every vestige of separatism and discrimination. Probably many a Negro chauvinist, especially of the female species, disapproved as vehemently.

I cannot see how society's full potentialities can possibly be unleashed while artificial standards operate in any sphere whatsoever. The neuroses and frustrations of colored Americans would by no means evaporate if a permanent FEPC ended job discrimination tomorrow and of the FBW wiped out the threat of lynching overnight. Under our present dispensation the mass of Negroes would still be "birthed" by Negro physicians, baptized in Negro churches, reared in Negro neighborhoods, entertained at Negro functions, unionized by Negro organizers, and "funeralized" by Negro undertakers. With full respects to the abilities of Negro doctors and to the sincerity of Negro organizers, discrimination would still pollute the streams of American life. An end-product of this kind, stemming from the bloody convulsions of our times, is not my concept of the destiny of mankind.

Branch News

CALIFORNIA: President of the San Diego branch makes available a speech delivered by Peter H. Samson on May 27, 1945, in the First Unitarian Church of that city. Title of Mr. Samson's speech is "If I Were a Negro," some highlights of which follow: " . . . I suggest that we try first of all to grasp how it feels to have people consider you a problem. Judging by the expressions of thoughtful Negroes whom I have read and heard, it can hardly be a comfortable or secure feeling. To be regarded as a social problem, to know that people think of you as responsible for the existence of that problem, is a most intolerable sensation for a person of sensitivity. . . . If I were a Negro I would have strong personal reactions to the position which I occupied and the attitudes of the majority towards me. I think my reactions would vacillate between two extremes. . . . One extreme to which I know I would be attracted would be rebellion . . . and at the other extreme would be an equally natural one, apathy and acceptance of my lot as final and fixed. . . .

"But I hope that if I were a Negro I would realize that neither rebellion nor apathetic acceptance were answers with any promise for me and my people . . . both are blind alleys, resulting only in an aggravated condition for my minority people. Both are negative responses, escapes from a reality from which there is no escape. But there is a positive, creative reaction, too; if I were a Negro I could not but be deeply encouraged by the growing number of my fellows who are following this constructive path, and the growing number of white men who see it as the only ultimate solution. Though everything that happens throws me on the defensive I would try to remain aware that there is another way. . . .

" . . . There are unmistakable signs of a better day ahead. . . . I would take courage from the knowledge that there are southern white leaders such as Lillian Smith and Virginius Dabney, who symbolize the coming of a new maturity in the South on the racial question. . . . There is a workable solution to the race problem, because on countless fronts, despite countless set-backs, that solution is being approached. On this ideal I would fix my energies and hopes, if I were a Negro. If a man is competent to do a piece of work he should not be prevented from doing it because of the accident of birth; if a man has the intelligence and social grace to make a pleasant companion, he should be free to establish friendships with congenial persons, and not be shut off in a ghetto, whether physical or psychological. . . ."

MICHIGAN: The problems of displacement of citizens who will be affected by demolition of temporary war housing, restrictive covenants, pending housing legislation, and the erection of adequate housing by public and private interests were vigorously attacked at the NAACP Housing Conference held August 29-30 at the Detroit Urban League. Approximately fifty representatives of organizations interested in housing attended the two-day conference over which Dr. James J. McClendon, president of the Detroit branch, and Gloster B. Current, executive secretary presided.

Conference consultants included Dr. Booker T. McGraw, national housing analyst; Dr. Frank Horne of the Federal Housing Authority; DeHart Hubbard, FPHA; William Hill of the American Council on Race Relations.

Assisting as local consultants were Rodney Lockwood, executive secretary of the Detroit Builder's Association; Henry Johnson, chairman of the Housing Committee of the Detroit Real Estate Board; George Zinky, state director, FHA; George Emery, city planner; George Schermer, director, Mayor's interracial committee; and Edward Connor, director, Citizen's Housing and Planning Council.

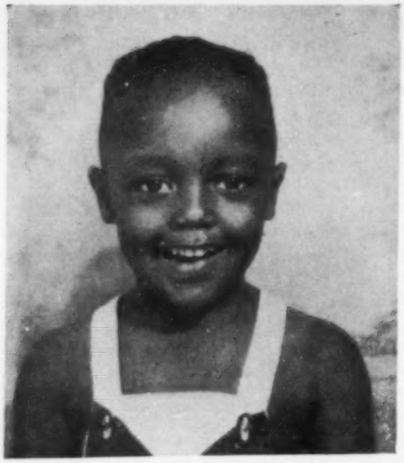
Members of the resolutions committee were Louis Martin, Gloster B. Current, William Valentine, George Schermer, William Kennedy, Miss Lydia Gary, and Edward Connor.

The conference went on record as favoring the "removal of temporary war housing at the earliest possible date and an immediate program of rebuilding slum areas at the most rapid possible pace." The conference condemned restrictions "against any racial, national or religious group and endorsed in principle the Wagner-Ellender Bill.

NEW YORK: Miss Ruth Hemmings, winner of the title "Miss Negro Victory Worker of 1945," has been the latest victim in the current wave of police brutality sweeping the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn.

The trouble began when police sergeant George Neff, of the 77th precinct, stopped William Hudnell, a house guest of Miss Hemmings', telling him that he was going to shoot him because he didn't like his face. Realizing that Neff was drunk and capable of carrying out his threat, Hudnell stopped and allowed the sergeant to frisk him. The sergeant then drew his blackjack and told Hudnell that he would "only beat him a little." He struck Hudnell across the eye with his billy, and Hudnell, feeling that Neff would be unable to draw his gun while holding the blackjack, began to run down the street to Miss Hemmings' home with Neff in pursuit.

When they reached Miss Hemmings' house, she opened the door for Hudnell. Neff, running right behind him, burst into the door, stepping on Miss Hemmings' foot. He then knocked her roughly against the wall, dashed through the house, and began yelling curses that he would shoot everyone in the house. In the kitchen he knocked Miss Hemmings' six-year-old niece to the floor; then returned to the front room where he grappled with Hudnell, kicking him in the groin. Miss Hemmings and her sister grabbed the drunken Neff's arms to prevent him from drawing his pistol, and finally subdued him. About this time two policemen came in a patrol car and removed Neff from the house.



FOUR-YEAR-OLD *Robert T. Moore has been a member of the NAACP for one year. He lives in Atchinson, Kans., and is the son of Sgt. Robert E. Moore.*

BRANCH PRESIDENT—*Dr. Charles C. Johnson, president of the Aiken, S. C., branch.*

An immediate investigation was launched by Inspector Mulholland of the 13th Division and a full report of his findings is going to be sent to the District Attorney and the Police Commissioner. Criminal charges are also being pressed against Neff. The Brooklyn branch has assigned two of its top-ranking lawyers, Attorneys Charles Kellar and Jesse P. Griggs, to handle the case.

PENNSYLVANIA: Madison Jones, Jr., national administrative assistant in the home office and former FEPC examiner for New England, delivered the address at the opening meeting of the Philadelphia branch on October 2.

Mrs. Glynner A. Morse, sectional development worker, and Carolyn Moore, secretary of the branch, represented the group at a two-day national conference on FEPC in Washington September 12-13.

Lt. Robert Hazelwood, honorably discharged veteran of World War II, has been appointed as interviewer of the Veterans' Information and Advisory Center, with offices in the Mitten Building.

John Kirby, police officer for the Pennsylvania Railroad, has been accused of beating two war workers and held for trial following his confession to the beatings. Kirby was arrested in September following filing of complaints by two colored war workers that they had been severely beaten by Kirby when they asked for information about trains to Wilmington, Delaware. Eugene Clarke, chairman of the legal committee, prosecuted on behalf of the two men.

Prizes totaling $100 in war bonds will be presented winners of the third annual NAACP youth essay contest, which closes November 15. "What's your Answer to Community Youth Problems?" will be subject of the essays, which are not to exceed 1500 words. Prizes will be awarded to two separate groups of youths under twenty-five years of age: those of high-school age, and those of college age.

In September the school board of Willows Township, Paoli, Pa., was asked the truth of the charges that the Willows Township had set up an all-Negro classroom in the school. The school has only six grades. According to charges filed with the Philadelphia branch, approximately twenty-five Negro children, ranging in ages from seven to sixteen and in grades from one to six, are being taught by one teacher.

It was further charged that on September 6, the children were taught by a ten-year-old student; on September 8, by white teachers in mixed classes; and on September 10 a Negro teacher was hired and the children were re-segregated.

Rev. William B. Rowan filed a complaint with the school board regarding this policy of segregation and failure to provide transportation to school. On September 10 the board took action to rectify the transportation, but when queried on the segregation, Norman J. Brown, secretary to the school board, is reported to have replied that he thought that "through segregation the Negro children would be afforded an opportunity for a better education."

Representatives of the Philadelphia branch have pledged full support to abolish this segregation.

Four members of the Philadelphia branch delegation to the State Conference of the NAACP held in York, Pa., September 21-23, were elected to state office: Theodore Spaulding, legal chairman; Carolyn Moore, state organizer; Eugene Clarke, and Robert Evans, directors.

The conference discussed the campaign for a state FEPC and the reasons for its defeat. A resolution was passed calling upon Governor Martin to call a special session of the state legislature to consider action on a fair employment practice bill. Other resolutions asked for the abolition of the Army's blue discharge and segregation; establishment of bi-racial housing projects; abolition of restrictive covenants; abolition of segregation and inequalities based on race in Pennsylvania schools; and establishment of regional offices of the Association.

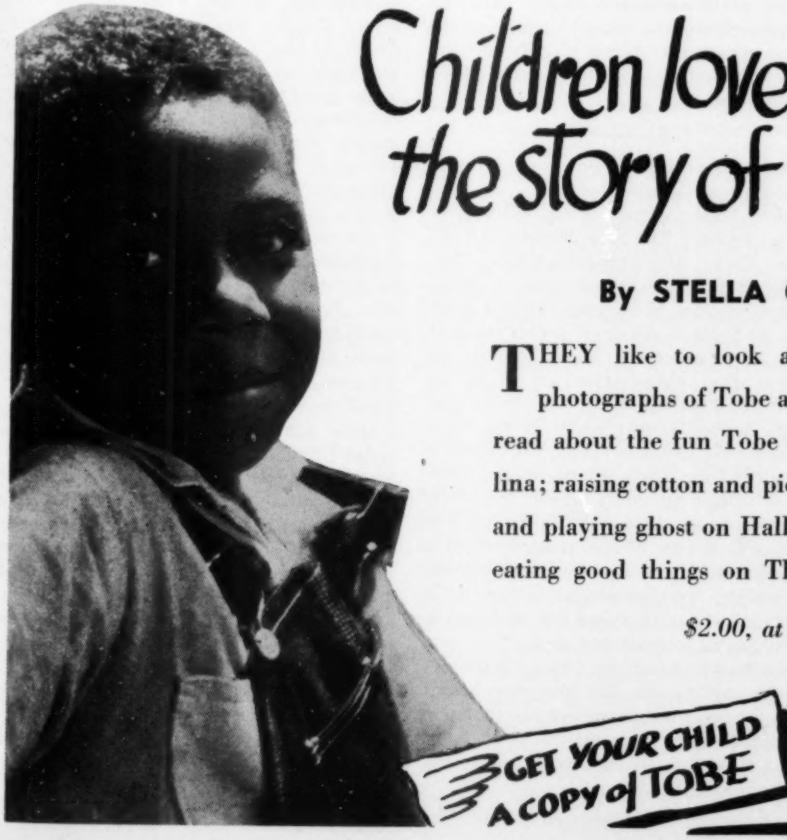
BOOK BRIEFS

Chiefly Political

The war is now over. The Potsdam Conference has outlined the future of Germany and Europe and Attlee and Bevin are in power in Britain. And though the San Francisco conference formulated plans for a "permanent peace," the breakdown of negotiations in the Council of Foreign Ministers in London now puts for a "reigning peace," to use President Truman's phrase, up to God. Yet peace cannot be achieved by mere sentiment and good intentions. It must be based on sound information and severe thinking.

To help his fellow citizens to understand the fundamental problems which underlie peace and economic and political stability, Sumner Welles, former under secretary of state, has edited *An Intelligent American's Guide to the Peace* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1945. 370 pp. $3.75). In simple language the book summarizes salient facts about the people and the economic and political factors which make the living history of some one hundred and thirty odd independent nations and dependent areas. Each nation's stake in the peace is discussed along with the outstanding factors which will determine its role in the postwar world. One whole section is given over to Africa and European stakes in the continent.

One of the most significanct events in recent American political history was organization of the CIO Political Action Committee or PAC. During the residential campaign in the fall of 1944 the committee came in for an unusual amount of abuse as well as praise. Sidney Hillman, chairman, was caricatured by the reactionary press as a dangerous "foreigner" ignorant of "real American" democratic methods, and PAC itself was frequently dubbed an arm of the Kremlin. PAC was powerful enough, however, to forestall nomination of present secretary of state James F. Byrnes at the Chicago convention as vice-president. Whether PAC is destined to play a vital role in future American politics only time can tell. What she has done and how she did it may now be reviewed in *The First Round,* The Story of the CIO Political Action Committee, by Joseph Gaer (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944. 478pp. $2.50.) Negro protest organizations can learn much from the techniques employed by PAC and also from its methods of organization and propaganda appeal.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By STELLA GENTRY SHARPE

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
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PM purports to be a newspaper but is rather a journal of opinion in the continental European tradition than a purveyor of news. Even its staunchest supporters found this out during the newspaper deliverymen's strike in New York. Many *PM* readers discovered that the carefully selected editorialized news tiems and "liberal" opinions were no substitute for really factual reporting. Editorially, *PM* is always ag'in' someone or something. Star-gazing idealism through oft Moscow-tinted glasses seems to be its chief pabulum. Preeminent in this sort of quill-driving is its chief editorial writer, Max Lerner.

In *Public Journal,* Marginal Notes on Wartime America (New York: The Viking Press, 1945, 414pp. $3.00), Mr. Lerner has collected some of his daily editorials in 1943 and 1944. They range over many subjects from school days, through Errol Flynn, Henry Armstrong, Lepke, Pegler, Sewell Avery, and Teheran to the great peoples of the future. The essays make easy reading, but they more often map "the mind's internal heaven" of Mr. Lerner than the confused and confusing realities of our terraqueous existence. Negroes will probably want to read "The Color of America" and "The Long Road to Racial Justice."

Chiefly Ethnic

It will be perhaps many years before the real story of the Jews in Europe is told. Of the six million odd Jews in Europe before the rise of Hitler, it is estimated that hardly more than two million have survived. What the future holds for European Jewry is outlined in Max Gottschalk and Abraham Duker's *Jews in the Post-War World* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1945. XIV+224pp. $3.00). In seven sections our authors report on the status of Jews in the two world wars, how Jewish communities prepared for peace during World War I, the condition in Europe between wars, position of Jews in the post-war world, Palestine in the new world, relief, reconstruction and migration, and Jewish survival in the democracy of the future.

For a sketchy, journalistic survey of racism and miscegnation, the interested reader may consult Achille Aristide's *Le Racisme et Le Metissage Devant La Science* (Port-au-Prince, Haiti: Campagnie Lithographique, 1945. 21pp.) The author admits in his preface that *Racism and Miscegnation in the Light of Science* has no originality of ideas, but hopes that his popularization of recent anthropological knowledge will interest peoples of color.

In a little southern town a mob was preparing to lynch a man when a dignified old judge appeared. "Don't put a blot on this fair community by hasty action," he pleaded. He insisted that the thing to do was to give the "man a fair trial and then lynch him." This is only one of the 326 interesting jokes, anecdotes, and "wit with a slightly sepia hue" to be found in John H. Johnson and Ben Burns' *The Best of Negro Humor* (Chicago: A Negro Digest Publication, 1945. 106pp. 50¢). Langston Hughes contributes an introduction.

Americans have always gone in heavily for discussions of liberty and equality but have usually shied away, possibly because of the presence of the Negro, from either discussion or implementation of brotherhood. Even in their discussions of equality they have usually excluded the Negro because of their concept that he is a sort of half-man living on the margin of democratic tradition. Talk today about extension of democracy and equality balks when it faces the Negro and other non-white minorities. Even the Negro's "best white friends" are inclined to offer him equality with qualifications. For a consideration of the philosophical background of the problem of equality a good little book to consult is Henry Alonzo Myers' *Are Men Equal?* An Inquiry into the Meaning of American Democracy (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1945. IX+188pp. $2.50).

Mr. Myers believes that the proposition of equality is true because it is useful, since men are really not equal in intelligence, wealth, power, strength, influence, etc. Men are equal because of each man's awareness of his own worth and human dignity. Denial of this proposition, our author points out, by nations and peoples brings tragedy and national deterioration. A truth America should take to heart.

What happens when a writer tries to wrap up social and political problems into one detective-thriller package is exposed in Darwin L. Teilhet's *The Fear Makers,* a Novel (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1945. 247pp. $2.75). Mr. Teilhet takes a battle-shocked veteran, twenty-nine-year-old Capt. Allen Y. Eaton, a couple of Jewish refugees, and a clique of cynical rascals who rig the returns of a public-opinion poll in the interest of the plutocrats and pelf for his plot. Reader interest should center in the social and economic problems raised, but instead it jells around the purely detective-fiction problem of who is the guilty person. A problem posed but never developed is that stated in the words of one of the characters: "The post-war era will be ripe for a *properly* developed plan of psychological attack in all fields of enterprise, based on the polling operations as a cover for action."

Two Negro chaarcters, George Goodspeed and his girl appear, but they are largely stock figures. Frequent references to Negro shirking of army duty on the ground that they are Vd cases is libelous as well as unnecessary.

J. W. Ivy

Japanese Evacuees

(*Continued from page* 316)

University Hospital in San Francisco, three Nisei pharmacists were hired recently when the resignation of the white pharmaceutical staff left the hospital high and dry. Nisei laboratory technicians have also been hired at the hospital; and in Oakland, a Negro optician has set a precedent by employing a Nisei optometrist in his office.

Because Negroes would be quick to resent any special considerations shown to Japanese-Americans, the War Relocation Authority has worked closely with employing agencies to see that no Negroes are fired just to create jobs for returning Nisei. The Japanese, themselves, have also cooperated in this regard because they are eager to do nothing which will create racial animosity. Down the Peninsula, where Caucasian depredations against the returnees have been most violent, Negro leaders have even recruited jobs for the Japanese. In several cases, where wealthy Peninsula estate owners contemplated replacing Negro and Italian help with Japanese, the WRA has advised against such action, only to have Negro absentee or job-gardeners give up some of their jobs in order to help provide homes for returned Issei or Nisei families.

In Northern California, particularly in San Francisco, the Negro has always felt friendlier toward the Japanese because, even before the war, Japanese American were more kindly disposed toward Negro Americans. Although like the Chinese they employed practically no Negroes in their businesses, unlike the Chinese they did not follow the established policy of the dominant group in dealing with Afro-Americans. With the coming of World War II, the Negro on the Coast felt more sympathy than animosity toward the Japanese-American. Today he is apt to remember former kindnesses and courtesies and ponder the question of why he should resent the return of the Japanese. Some even ask the sixty-four dollar question: "If the government was able to build those relocation centers so quickly, why can't it build more houses here in the city?"

More and more Negroes are becoming aware of the restrictive covenants maintained by powerful real estate factions and directed against many racial minorities, even the kowtowing Chinese. (Picturesque and congested "China Town" is reported to have the highest tuberculosis rate in the city of San Francisco.) The tensions, which alarmists have been talking up, appear to center only around the critical shortage of decent, or any kind of, housing for minorities. Vicious housing restrictions laid the groundwork for Detroit's bloody answer to a fascist's prayer. In San Francisco, sired by

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indifferent and greedy landlords who neglect repairs and let properties deteriorate in the minority-packed ghettoes, a similar sort of condition—the sort on which racists and alarmists thrive—is aborning. Only, here, the thing that happened in Detroit isn't likely to be repeated—not if the harvest of tension must be reaped by the Nisei or Negroes, themselves. Neither minority wants any part of such an ill harvest. The Negroes are sympathetic and wary, but not resentful toward the Issei, Nisei and Sansei. The Japanese American tread carefully and diplomatically; and they live by an age-old adage, "Don't curse the dark, light a candle!"

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By Rayford W. Logan
Editor of WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS

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Winding Sheet

(*Continued from page* 318)

ter and reached forward, balancing his weight on the balls of his feet, ready to let the blow go. And then his hands fell back down to his sides because he forced himself to lower them, to unclench them and make them dangle loose. The effort took his breath away because his hands fought against him. But he couldn't hit her. He couldn't even now bring himself to hit a woman, not even this one, who had refused him a cup of coffee with a toss of her head. He kept seeing the gesture with which she had lifted the length of her blond hair from the back of her neck as expressive of her contempt for him.

When he went out the door he didn't look back. If he had he would have seen the flickering blue flame under the shiny coffee urn being extinguished. The line of men who had stood behind him lingered a moment to watch the people drinking coffee at the tables and then they left just as he had without having had the coffee they wanted so badly. The girl behind the counter poured water in the urn and swabbed it out and as she waited for the water to run out she lifted her hair gently from the back of her neck and tossed her head before she began making a fresh lot of coffee.

But he walked away without a backward look, his head down, his hands in his pockets, raging at himself and whatever it was inside of that had forced him to stand quiet and still when he wanted to strike out.

The subway was crowded and he had to stand. He tried grasping an overhead strap and his hands were too tense to grip it. So he moved near the train door and stood there swaying back and forth with the rocking of the train. The roar of the train beat inside his head, making it ache and throb, and the pain in his legs clawed up into his groin so that he seemed to be bursting with pain and he told himself that it was due to all that anger-born energy that had piled up in him and not been used and so it had spread through him like a poison—from his feet and legs all the way up to his head.

Mae was in the house before he was. He knew she was home before he put the key in the door of the apartment. The radio was going. She had it tuned up loud and she was singing along with it.

"Hello, Babe," she called out as soon as he opened the door.

He tried to say "hello" and it came out half a grunt and half sigh.

"You sure sound cheerful," she said.

She was in the bedroom and he went and leaned against the door jamb. The denim overalls she wore to work were carefully draped over the back of a chair by the bed. She was standing in front of the dresser, tying the sash of a yellow housecoat around her waist and chewing gum vigorously as she admired her reflection in the mirror over the dresser.

"What sa matter?" she said. "You get bawled out by the boss or somep'n?"

"Just tired," he said slowly. "For God's sake do you have to crack that gum like that?"

"You don't have to lissen to me," she said complacently. She patted a curl in place near the side of her head and then lifted her hair away from the back of her neck, ducking her head forward and then back.

He winced away from the gesture. "What you got to be always fooling with your hair for?" he protested.

"Say, what's the matter with you, anyway?" she turned away from the mirror to face him, put her hands on her hips. "You ain't been in the house two minutes and you're picking on me."

He didn't answer her because her eyes were angry and he didn't want to quarrel with her. They'd been married too long and got along too well and so he walked all the way into the room and sat down in the chair by the bed and stretched his legs out in front of him, putting his weight on the heels of his shoes, leaning way back in the chair, not saying anything.

"Lissen," she said sharply. "I've got to wear those overalls again tomorrow. You're going to get them all wrinkled up leaning against them like that."

He didn't move. He was too tired and his legs were throbbing now that he had sat down. Besides the overalls were already wrinkled and dirty, he thought. They couldn't help but be for she'd worn them all week. He leaned further back in the chair.

"Come on, get up," she ordered.

"Oh, what the hell," he said wearily and got up from the chair. "I'd just as soon live in a subway. There'd be just as much place to sit down."

He saw that her sense of humor was struggling with her anger. But her sense of humor won because she giggled.

"Aw, come on and eat," she said. There was a coaxing note in her voice. "You're nothing but a old hungry nigger trying to act tough and—" she paused to giggle and then continued, "You—"

He had always found her giggling pleasant and deliberately said things that might amuse her and then waited, listening for the delicate sound to emerge from her throat. This time he didn't even hear the giggle. He didn't let her finish what she was saying. She was standing close to him and that funny tingling started in his finger tips, went fast up his arms and sent his fist shooting straight for her face.

There was the smacking sound of soft flesh being struck by a hard object and it wasn't until she screamed that he realized he had hit her in the mouth—so hard that the dark red lipstick had blurred and spread over her full lips, reaching up toward the tip of her nose, down toward her chin, out toward her cheeks.

The knowledge that he had struck her seeped through him slowly and he was appalled but he couldn't drag his hands away from her face. He kept striking her and he thought with horror that something inside him was holding him, binding him to this act, wrapping and twisting about him so that he had to continue it. He had lost all control over his hands. And he groped for a phrase, a word, something to describe what this thing was like that was happening to him and he thought it was like being enmeshed in a winding sheet—that was it—like a winding sheet. And even as the thought formed in his mind his hands reached for her face again and yet again.

Detroit Elections

(*Continued from page* 321)

per cent higher than for the city as a whole. Voters in Negro precincts gave Frankensteen 69.8 per cent of their votes. Throughout the city Frankensteen received 41.3 per cent of the votes. Jeffries received 9.1 per cent of the votes cast in Negro precincts. His City-wide vote was 34.2 per cent.

In the councilmanic race Hill received 48,029 votes throughout the city. In Negro precincts he received 61.4 per cent of the votes cast. How did the remainder of the CIO-PAC slate fare? Edwards led the ticket throughout the city receiving 78,136 votes. Doll was eleventh with 44,427 votes. The slate in percentages rank as follows in Negro precincts: Hill 61.4, Edwards 34.2, Doll 25.5.

Other council candidates received a negligible number of votes in Negro districts. There was a high correlation between the votes received by "anti-Negro" candidates in Negro districts. Rogell received 9.1 per cent of votes cast in 172 precincts, while Dorais received 6.0 per cent. Rogell's vote percentage was the same as Jeffries. Castator, who received 61.2 per cent of votes cast in Negro precincts in 1943, dropped to 10.6 per cent of votes cast; Comstock went from 23.1 per cent in 1943 to 5.5 per cent in the 1945 primary.

An interpretation of the results would indicate considerable "plunking" for Hill in Negro neighborhoods. To "plunk" is to vote for one candidate. This is a result of the reasoning probably followed by Negro voters that principal support for their candidate would come from their precincts. If they voted for all nine, the chances of electing Hill would be diminished. On the other hand Negro voters were committed to the CIO slate of three for council. For every "plunker" vote two voted all or part of the slate. In working class white precincts the trend was reversed with Hill receiving one out of three votes.

It takes approximately 150,000 votes to elect a councilman in the fall election. Election in Detroit is on a city-wide basis. Negro support alone is insufficient to elect a councilman. The highest number of Negro votes cast in recent elections was 79,315 in the November, 1944 presidential election. Granting that all of these would be interested enough to return to the polls in November to vote for Hill, he would still need 75,000 white votes. With PAC support as well as suport from many conservative elements, Hill is granted a good chance to become the first Negro elected to the Detroit council.

Attitude of Conservatives

There are indications that powerful interests in Detroit are willing to see a Negro elected to Council. During the primary election, the daily newspapers refrained from identifying Hill as a Negro. Hill was endorsed by the "Civic Searchlight" political arm of the downtown interests.

Can Frankensteen overcome the handicap of race-baiting if raised in the campaign? The answer is "no". If there is considerable race-baiting as well as labor-baiting, Frankensteen will probably be defeated. If he loses, Hill will also lose. There were overtones of race-baiting in the primary due to the similarity of Frankensteen's name to a usual Jewish one. Anti-labor forces persisted in pronouncing it FRANKENS*TEIN*. A whispering campaign is now in progress declaring that Frankensteen is a Jew. After the primary, the newspapers pointed out that Frankensteen was an Episcopalian by religion, but the racists are continuing their antics quietly.

During the past few weeks the election picture has changed considerably. Mounting unemployment, battles between the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission and the UAW-CIO, wage struggles, have heightened interest in the campaign. Shortly after V-J Day Jeffries rushed to the council with a proposal to start work on postwar city projects to give employment to five thousand. (At this writing, September 18, 1945, the DPW reports less than 1,000 employed in these projects.)

The chances for Hill and Frankensteen are bright, but there are too many "ifs" in the picture. Win or lose, Hill can be proud of making the best run that any Negro candidate has made for Council. His margin of over 20,000 votes received in white precincts is an indication that race relations are improving.

It is prophesied that a Hill and Frankensteen victory in November will mean better housing, more attention paid to the employment problems of all citizens, new anti-discrimination ordinances and a more progressive administration. Meanwhile, Negro political organizations and progressives generally, are bending every effort to shake up the Council and elect a labor mayor.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorneys outside their home towns. THE CRISIS maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights.

CALIFORNIA

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129 W. 3rd St., Los Angeles 13
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Marshall Denton, Jr.
3429 S. Central Ave.
Los Angeles 11
Telephone: ADams 5544

H. Leonard Richardson
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Telephone: ADams 7774

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